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FBIS-SOV-88-245 CONTENTS *21 December 1988*

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not previously disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Pact-NATO Mandate Meeting Held in Vienna *[TASS]* 1
Geneva Nuclear Test Talks Called 'Positive' *[TASS]* 1
Chemical Weapons Committee Work Termed 'Useful' *[TASS]* 1
Conventional Forces, Arms Cuts Reviewed *[Chernyshev on TASS]* 1
Response to Arms Initiative Criticized *[Pasko on Moscow Radio]* 2
Heseltine's Arms Control Article Rebutted *[Pavlov in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Dec]* 3
FRG Stance on Disarmament Issues Questioned *[Lukyanov in PRAVDA 15 Dec]* 4

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Komplektov Holds Moscow News Briefing 21 Dec 5
  Economic Aid to Nicaragua *[TASS]* 5
  Developing Countries' Debts *[TASS]* 5
Gandhi Begins Official PRC Visit 20 Dec *[PRAVDA 20 Dec]* 5
  Exchange Held on Tibet *[PRAVDA 21 Dec]* 6
'International Review' on Earthquake, UN, PLO *[Kurdyumov in PRAVDA 18 Dec]* 6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Bush Says 'Change' Seen in Soviet Union *[TASS]* 9
'Not Much Time' for Bush To Decide Policy *[Zhukov in PRAVDA 20 Dec]* 9
U.S. Ambassador Addresses Military Academy *[TASS]* 10
U.S. 'Belittling' of Gorbachev Speech Seen *[IZVESTIYA 17 Dec]* 10
Visa Chief Condemns U.S. Immigration Quota *[MOSCOW NEWS No 50]* 11

China

Li Peng Cited on PRC Ties With South Asia *[TASS]* 12
Leningrad City Delegation Visits Shanghai *[Moscow International]* 12
Cooperation With PRC Shipping Register Noted *[TASS]* 13
PRC Official on Copyright Protection Efforts *[Moscow International]* 13

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze Continues Far Eastern Visit 13
  Meets Foreign Minister Uno *[Moscow International]* 13
  Confers With Japanese Leaders *[PRAVDA 21 Dec]* 13
  Speaks on International Relations *[PRAVDA 21 Dec]* 15
  Views Planned Summit With Japan *[TASS]* 17
  On PRC Summit; Rules Out ROK Ties *[TASS]* 18
  Seen Off by Counterpart *[TASS]* 18
  Arrives in Manila 21 Dec *[TASS]* 18
Japanese Minister Abe Discusses Soviet Ties *[Moscow International]* 18
Relations With Japan, Asia-Pacific Region Noted *[Moscow TV]* 19
Cooperation With Japan on Fishing Assessed *[TASS]* 19
Joint Mongolian Cooperation Session Ends *[PRAVDA 16 Dec]* 20
DPRK Parliamentarians Make Moscow Stopover *[IZVESTIYA 16 Dec]* 20

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippine Foreign Minister on Shevardnadze Tour *[TASS]* 20
SRV Troop Withdrawal Assists Cambodian Talks *[Fedorov on Moscow International]* 21
Commentary on Prospects for Cambodian Solution *[Moscow International]* 21

Near East & South Asia

Start of U.S.-PLO Talks in Tunisia Reported *[TASS]* 22
    U.S. 'Turnabout' Viewed *[PRAVDA 20 Dec]* 22
Daily Welcomes U.S.-PLO Dialogue Proposals *[Geyvandov in IZVESTIYA 18 Dec]* 22
Commentator Lauds Palestinian 'Success' at UN *[Loparev in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 20 Dec]* 24
PLO's 'Abbas Interviewed on Peace Process *[IZVESTIYA 19 Dec]* 25
Analyst Urges Israel To Respond to PLO *[Biryukov on TASS]* 26
Israeli Spokesman Cited on Mideast Developments *[IZVESTIYA 19 Dec]* 26
Censored Bovin Afghanistan Item Carried in Full *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 51]* 27
Current Situation in Afghanistan Detailed *[IZVESTIYA 16 Dec]* 28
Afghan Premier Cited on Refugee Problem *[IZVESTIYA 20 Dec]* 30
Pakistani President's Inaugural Speech Noted *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 16 Dec]* 30

Sub-Saharan Africa

South African Intentions in Namibia Questioned *[PRAVDA 20 Dec]* 31
Commentary Anticipates Namibian Independence *[Volgov on Moscow International]* 31
Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Mauritius *[TASS]* 32

East Europe

Czechoslovak Party Plenum Sets Early Congress *[PRAVDA 18 Dec]* 32
Vedernikov Meets With Czechoslovakia's Julis *[PRAVDA 20 Dec]* 33
Polish Central Committee Discusses Development *[TASS]* 33
Polish Communist Party 'Theses' Reported *[PRAVDA 18 Dec]* 33
Polish Parties' Anniversaries Marked in USSR *[Warsaw PAP]* 33
Hungarian Plenum Examines Party's Position *[PRAVDA 18 Dec]* 34
Hungarian National Assembly To Address Reforms *[TASS]* 34
Deputy Premier Meets East German Industrialists *[PRAVDA 17 Dec]* 34
CPSU Ideology Delegation Visits Romania *[PRAVDA 18 Dec]* 34

West Europe

Lukyanov Talks With Cypriot Delegation Continue 35
    Cooperation, Settlement Discussed *[IZVESTIYA 20 Dec]* 35
    Lissaridhis Interviewed on Visit *[Moscow International]* 35
    Perfilyev on Delegation Visit *[TASS]* 36
Aeroflot Plane Allowed To Land in West Berlin *[TASS]* 37
Soviet-Swiss Cooperation Commission Meets *[PRAVDA 17 Dec]* 37
Katushev Speaks on Increased Trade With Italy *[TASS]* 37
Finland Welcomes Gorbachev UN Initiative *[TASS]* 37
Karpov, Petrovskiy Meet Irish Officials *[TASS]* 37

Latin America & Caribbean

Chilean Communist Party Announces Congress 38
    Moscow Airs Part Nine *[Moscow International]* 38
    Moscow Airs Part Ten *[Moscow International]* 39
    Moscow Airs Part Eleven *[Moscow International]* 40
    Moscow Airs Part Twelve *[Moscow International]* 42
Radio Broadcasting Agreement With Venezuela *[Moscow International]* 44

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

- Kirghiz Earthquake Causes Damage; No Casualties *[TASS]* 45
- Ryzhkov Interviewed in Yerevan Before Departure *[Moscow TV]* 45
- Politburo Commission's Postquake Efforts Continue 46
  - Leaders Consider Rebuilding *[PRAVDA 18 Dec]* 46
  - Commission Meets 20 Dec *[TASS]* 48
  - Ryzhkov Meets Culture Workers *[TASS]* 49
  - More on 17 Dec Activities *[Moscow TV]* 49
  - More on 18 Dec Activities *[Moscow TV]* 50
  - More on 19 Dec Activities *[Moscow TV]* 51
- Expert Says Tremors Show Earthquake 'Waning' *[TASS]* 52
- Efforts Made To Stabilize Armenian 'Daily Life' 52
  - Planning Stressed in Leninakan *[IZVESTIYA 21 Dec]* 52
  - Services Partly Restored *[PRAVDA 20 Dec]* 53
  - Bureaucracy Hampers Relief *[IZVESTIYA 20 Dec]* 53
  - Military Patrol Described *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Dec]* 54
  - AUCCTU's Shalayev on Assistance *[Moscow Radio]* 56
- Nationalist Activities Continue in Armenia 56
  - 'Troublemakers' Seek Independence *[TRUD 20 Dec]* 56
  - Official on Karabakh Committee *[IZVESTIYA 18 Dec]* 57
  - Activists 'Fan Mass Hysteria' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Dec]* 58
  - MVD's Zabotin on 'Extremists' *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 18 Dec]* 59
  - KOMMUNIST Editorial 'Significant' *[IZVESTIYA 17 Dec]* 61
- Armenian-Azerbaijani Hostility Examined *[IZVESTIYA 20 Dec]* 62
- Seidov Chairs Refugee Resettlement Committee *[Baku Radio]* 64
- Azerbaijan Party Officials Meet Media Workers *[Baku Radio]* 64
- Azerbaijan Factories Violate Environmental Laws *[Baku Radio]* 65
  - Sumgait Factory Closed *[Moscow Radio]* 65
- Vezirov Attends Academy of Sciences Meeting *[Baku Radio]* 65
- Medvedev Calls for 'Principled' Ethnic Policy *[PRAVDA 20 Dec]* 65
- *Estonian Resolution on USSR Constitution *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 19 Nov]* 67
- Army Daily Considers Estonian Events *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Dec]* 68
- Estonian Popular Front's Veydemann Interviewed *[Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET 16 Dec]* 71
- Brussels Paper Interviews Kagarlitskiy *[Brussels LE SOIR 30 Nov]* 71
- Gorbunov Comments on Latvian Peoples Forum *[Moscow Radio]* 72
- Latvian Popular Front 'Step Behind' Estonia *[Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET 13 Dec]* 73
- Riga Meeting Opposes Anti-Industrial Moves *[Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 30 Nov]* 74
- Lithuania's Brazauskas on Sajudis, Reform Laws *[Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA 6 Dec]* 75
- Vilnius on Distortions in Central Press *[Vilnius International]* 76
- Ukraine Obkoms Hold Election Conferences *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 11 Dec]* 77
- New Dnepropetrovsk Obkom First Secretary *[TASS]* 78
- Commission Examines Citizens' Rehabilitation *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 8 Dec]* 78
- Children in Ukrainian City Afflicted by Disease *[TASS]* 79
  - Commission Findings Published *[Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA 4 Dec]* 79
- RSFSR Council of Ministers Meets 19 Dec *[PRAVDA 20 Dec]* 80
- Yakovlev in Perm on 'Development Crisis' *[PRAVDA 17 Dec]* 80
- CPSU Officials Identified at Oblast Meetings *[PRAVDA 19 Dec]* 84
- Zaykov Addresses Moscow Election Conference *[PRAVDA 18 Dec]* 84
- Zaykov, Razumovskiy Visit Moscow Collectives *[Moscow Radio]* 87
- Leaders Attend National Education Congress *[Moscow TV]* 87
  - CPSU Greets Congress *[PRAVDA 21 Dec]* 87
- Yagodin on Overhauling Public Education System *[TASS]* 89
- Arrest, Beating of Soviet Journalist Reported *[Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 21 Dec]* 90
- Deputy Minister on Environmental Issues *[Vienna KURIER 16 Dec]* 90
- 'Ecological Foundation' Formed in Moscow *[IZVESTIYA 6 Dec]* 91
- Legal Expert Previews Exit, Entry Visa Law *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 7 Dec]* 91
- *Ordzhonikidze Hijacking Events Recounted *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 10 Dec]* 92

Legal Expert Interviewed on Hijack Prevention
[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 13 Dec] 95
Contents of KOMMUNIST No 18 Reviewed *[PRAVDA 14 Dec]* 95
Science Cooperatives Form New Association *[IZVESTIYA 3 Dec]* 96
Moscow TV Program Looks at Railroad Safety 96
Leaders Sign Artist Reshetnikov's Obituary *[IZVESTIYA 17 Dec]* 98

Economic

Kamentsev Briefs Press on Foreign Economic Ties *[TASS]* 98
  Gostev on Domestic Economy *[TASS]* 98
Proposal for Odessa Economic Zone Discussed *[EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA No 50]* 99

Scientific

Reportage on Landing of Soyuz TM-6 Spacecraft 100
  Cosmonauts Prepare Landing *[TASS]* 100
  Ground Preparations Described *[Moscow Radio]* 101
  Computer Causes Landing Delay *[Moscow Radio]* 101
  TV Reports Situation 101
  TASS Details Descent, Landing 102
  'Mir' Cosmonauts' Work Detailed *[TASS]* 103

Military

Military Counterespionage Chief Interviewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Dec]* 104
Students Said To Be Resisting Military Demands *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Dec]* 105

Pact-NATO Mandate Meeting Held in Vienna

LD2112093888 Moscow TASS in English 0905 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Vienna December 21 TASS—A regular meeting was held in Vienna today as part of the Warsaw Pact-NATO consultations on drawing up a mandate for future talks on the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Geneva Nuclear Test Talks Called 'Positive'

LD2112063688 Moscow TASS in English 0627 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—Igor Palenykh, head of the Soviet delegation at the Soviet-U.S. full-scale talks on limitation and cessation of nuclear tests, described as "positive" the results of the talks' third round which had ended in Geneva.

During this round the sides composed the text of a new protocol to the 1976 treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, Palenykh told TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev. The text was presented to the governments of the two countries.

Soviet and American technical experts drew up a document within the Geneva talks which, they think, will enable the sides to agree on measures of control and verification of the 1974 treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of underground nuclear-weapon tests. The document was drawn up on the results of a successful joint nuclear test control experiment carried out at the test ranges in Nevada and Semipalatinsk.

The sides also started to work out a protocol to the 1974 treaty. The text of its draft, which will serve as a basis for the next round of talks, was composed as the first step.

The Soviet and U.S. delegations worked in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. "I hope that our talks in the next round will move ahead as quickly as they did this year," Palenykh said.

Chemical Weapons Committee Work Termed 'Useful'

LD2012132988 Moscow TASS in English 1257 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—"One can boldly say that the work of the Special Chemical Weapons Committee in the period between sessions was useful", Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said in a talk with a TASS diplomatic correspondent.

He said that, as was agreed in September, the Special Chemical Weapons Committee held sessions in Geneva within the framework of the conference on disarmament to consider such issues as the procedure for destroying chemical weapons and their production facilities, and the development of procedures for conducting challenge inspections.

During the discussion an in-depth exchange of views was held and definite progress was achieved in developing a future convention on a total ban and destruction of chemical weapons and their production facilities, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

The regular round of bilateral Soviet-U.S. consultations on banning chemical weapons was held in parallel, Perfilyev went on. Consultations were also held on preparing and conducting an experiment to test the procedures for systematic verification of non-production of chemical weapons in the chemical industry.

During these consultations four states—Australia, Hungary, Sweden and the German Democratic Republic—announced the holding of verification experiments in their countries, and ten states named the dates for conducting their national experiments.

"The Soviet Union will also perform a similar experiment at the chemical plant in Dzerzhinsk in late December, 1988", Perfilyev said.

Conventional Forces, Arms Cuts Reviewed

LD2012182988 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

The implementation of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty and headway in the course of elaborating an agreement on a radical reduction in strategic offensive arms have still further emphasised the importance of the problem of reducing conventional arms and armed forces in Europe.

A solution to the problem is essential in view of a variety of factors. Military confrontation on the continent is too great and therefore dangerous. There are huge alignments of the armed forces of NATO and Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) in Europe. The build-up of non-nuclear potential is going on. The development of conventional arms is reaching fundamentally new dimensions: their destructive power, accuracy, promptness of use and range grow.

The devastating effects of a war with the use of conventional systems are believed to have become practically comparable with the effects of nuclear war. Expert estimates are that a conventional war in Europe lasting 20 days alone would be as destructive by its effects a a five-day war with the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

The disastrous effects of a conventional war, if it breaks out, would be aggravated by other factors, specifically, by the fact that there are about 200 nuclear power stations, a large number of chemical plants, depots of radioactive substances, dumping grounds for radioactive wastes, etc., on European territory. For example, several artillery shells would be enough to destroy one nuclear reactor. If destroyed, the reactor should be viewed as an explosion of a nuclear munition with all the ensuing consequences.

Economic factor is of extreme importance as well. The greater part of the military budgets even of nuclear powers is spent on general-purpose forces. In the United States, in particular, strategic nuclear forces account for not more than 15 percent of the military budget while general-purpose capability accounts for about 85 percent. So, termination of the conventional arms race, a reduction in conventional arms, and a cut in the numerical strength of the personnel of general-purpose forces would effect a substantial saving both in WTO and NATO countries.

And, finally, there is yet another important factor. The question of correlation between conventional arms and the armed forces of WTO and NATO is now being raised by certain circles in the West for the purpose of proving the 'need' to keep nuclear weapons in Europe and to make a pause in the nuclear arms reduction process which was started.

Moreover, with reference to the myth, invented in the West, about WTO's ostensible 'superiority' over NATO in the sphere of conventional forces, they try to convince the West European public that it is essential for the West to build up nuclear and conventional might in Europe and to 'make up' for the U.S. Pershing and cruise missiles being eliminated under the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty.

All this considered, the entire importance of the Soviet Union's unilateral step to reduce its conventional arms and armed forces becomes particularly manifest.

Practical Soviet measures in the field of reducing military confrontation will undoubtedly serve to build trust, to stabilise the military and political situation on the continent, and to give a positive impulse to future talks between WTO and NATO states on reducing the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

Response to Arms Initiative Criticized

LD1912231988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 19 Dec 88

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Boris Andrianov; Vladimir Pasko commentary]

[Text] The arms initiative has created a stir in the United States in those circles which come out, in particular, for reducing the U.S. military presence in Europe. Their pronouncements, however, have provoked a response from the conservatives. Influential Senator Cohen said in THE WASHINGTON POST that to carry out reciprocal reductions would be utter stupidity. According to him that would lead to an increased gap between the armed forces stationed in Europe in favor of the Warsaw Pact. This is a well-known thesis. But to what extent does it agree with reality? I hand the microphone over to my colleague Vladimir Pasko:

[Pasko] Indeed, the thesis of the Warsaw Pact's military superiority is not new. And I think the time will come when historians are able to speak in detail about how it emerged and developed. Nevertheless, one can say even now that it plays a marked role in the arms race and increasing military confrontation between the East and West. It served as propagandist justification for the appearance and implementation of practically all of NATO's militarist ideas in Europe and as a brake on all the talks on reducing and limiting arms.

The Soviet side has always maintained that there is a balance of conventional forces in Europe. There are asymmetries in individual types of armaments, but as regards the total combat potential of the two sides, parity can be confirmed. Many Western experts have stated the same view more than once. To substantiate my words, I will refer to last year's report of the West European Union. But still the version alleging the Warsaw Pact's superiority is being persistently brought up by NATO politicians.

And the fact that all this is happening now is particularly worrying. Secretary of State Shultz speaks about a nearly three-fold superiority of the Warsaw Pact in conventional forces. He is echoed by British Prime Minister Thatcher and NATO Secretary General Woerner. Yet there is a curious point. Last May, the Soviet side put forward a proposal to NATO countries to carry out an official exchange of initial data which could be used at future talks on conventional forces. The mandate for such talks is being currently drawn up in Vienna. The NATO countries did not give a positive reply to this initiative. They published a report instead in which, by means of arbitrarily calculating individual categories of armaments, they try to give a distorted interpretation of the real picture of the balance of forces in Europe. The military experts of certain countries, the FRG in particular, made a statement on the biased character of the report. This, however, did not prevent the NATO secretary general from calling on the Warsaw Pact member countries to publish in reply their own data on conventonal forces. The appeal was obviously intended for simpletons.

Ridgway, aide to the U.S. secretary of state, said at a briefing in Washington that the data in the report, I quote: Does not substitute for the data that will be required for the talks. This data is absolutely isolated from specific information exchange. Ridgway added something very substantial too. The positive prospects of the report, she said, consist in the fact that it will be of use for public discussion in all the NATO member countries. In other words, the report to which Woerner calls on us to reply is of no more value than a propaganda leaflet. It was taken as a basis, indeed, by those who are now trying to persuade the public that to reduce NATO military forces in response to the Soviet initiatives would be utter stupidity. But I would like to point out the following, too. Against the background of the broad and exclusively positive reaction evoked by our country's new initiatives in the world, attempts to keep the Western public opinion about the Soviet Union within the limits of the old stereotypes look clumsy. They look clumsy at least because they highlight as never before the intertia of the thinking of their authors and messengers.

The press of many countries, including the United States, Great Britain, and the FRG has lately been bringing into question NATO's capacity for reviewing its policy in the name of increasing the security of the West itself and overcoming the split in Europe. As their reaction shows, NATO figures are unable to give a positive answer to this question. But this does not remove the problem.

Heseltine's Arms Control Article Rebutted

PM1912162788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant General V. Pavlov "Military Observer's View": "He Dislikes It, You See"]

[Text] London's THE TIMES could not overlook the Soviet Union's decision, announced by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations, to unilaterally reduce its armed forces and arms. But, according to an article by Michael Heseltine which it published, a "cautious" approach toward this decision is recommended.

The author deliberates, but certainly not on how to make the best use of the mighty potential contained in the far-reaching unilateral Soviet steps in order to galvanize the process of disarmament and detente. One gets the impression that his "thoughts" clearly run in the opposite direction.

Having raised doubts about the radical nature and effectiveness of the Soviet decision (it is apparently good, but not enough—the Russians will still have 41,000 tanks against NATO's 15,000), Heseltine offers his own prescription as to how the West "can regain the initiative." It boils down to the following.

First, to offer the USSR "the retention of, say, 10,000 tanks on either side of the central front. That would be a 50 percent reduction by the West. It would, of course, require the USSR to remove three-fourths of its tanks. The onus should then be on the USSR to explain its reluctance to do it!"

This thesis has obviously been put forward in a fit of irritation. Otherwise the author would have refrained from juggling with facts and contradicting even his own words in that selfsame article. If 10,000 represents 50 percent of the numerical strength of NATO's tanks, and this on the central front alone, any arithmetical calculation would show that NATO should have at least 20,000 tanks instead of the 15,000 mentioned by Heseltine earlier. In actual fact, NATO has about 80,000 tanks. The author's irritation can also be seen in his rhetorical exclamation: The onus should be on the USSR to explain its reluctance to do it! The only point is, where did he discover this reluctance?

The statement by Warsaw Pact states published in July put forward a program for the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. It was actually proposed to determine and eliminate at the first stage all imbalances and asymmetries, both on an all-European scale and in individual regions, in terms of both the numerical strength of forces and basic arms. Therefore, Heseltine's call ought to be addressed not to the USSR and its allies but to Britain and its NATO allies which have hitherto not responded to the initiative of the Warsaw Pact countries.

Second, the author proposes an initiative on chemical weapons where, he claims, the Soviet Union "has the most unequal supremacy. The elimination of these weapons should be the main and primary task."

But Heseltine can hardly know who has greater or lesser quantities of chemical weapons. Just one state in the world—the USSR—has published data on the stockpiles in its chemical arsenal. Hence, he obviously has nothing against which to compare the Soviet figures. As for the slogan about the primacy of the task of eliminating these weapons, the USSR is in favor. We would like to see Britain being equally in favor of it. Until quite recently, its positions were close to or coincidental with the Soviet positions. Unfortunately, a gap developed later. It brought Britain's positions much closer to the positions of the United States, which wanted to establish controls primarily over state-owned chemical industry enterprises (in other words, absolutely all for the USSR, and a selected few for the United States and Britain). The USSR is in favor of control over all facilities which could be involved in the development [razrabotka] of chemical weapons, otherwise the convention would be biased and ineffective. Moreover, the extent of control on an equal basis does not frighten the Soviet side—if only the "open" societies would agree.

Third, it is apparently necessary to achieve the successful conclusion of the talks on 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms so as to "reduce the arsenal of intercontinental warheads to 5,000 on either side."

If Michael Heseltine is unaware, I am prepared to inform him that there is no need to aim for an accord on the ceiling of ICBM and SLBM numbers—the sides (the USSR and the United States) agreed a long time ago that neither of them should have more than 4,900 such warheads (in the event of a treaty being concluded). The problem lies elsewhere. The United States is in fact evading the idea of a 50-percent reduction. It proposed to exclude all sea-launched cruise missiles from the total allowable quantity of nuclear charges on all types of strategic offensive weapons (6,000 units), and to count only 10 cruise missiles per heavy bomber capable of carrying cruise missiles even if a bomber might be in fact equipped to carry 20 or 30 missiles. If the U.S. positions were accepted, the reductions of strategic nuclear charges would be far more modest than 50 percent. Finally, and this is the main point, the United States still maintains its stance of rejecting the ABM Treaty, without which the intended accord on strategic offensive weapons would altogether lose its meaning. So let us strive together. The Soviet Union is firmly in favor of a 50-percent reduction.

Fourth, Heseltine warns, reductions of armed forces in Europe "should not result in the retention of just a token U.S. presence in Europe. Such a situation would fulfill one of the Soviet Union's central ambitions: effectively undermining the U.S. commitment at its most vital link." It would be interesting to know the source from which he obtained this "ambition of the Soviet Union." Such an ambition is totally unknown in the USSR.

Finally, fifth—and this is obviously the point around which Heseltine has written the entire article, he urges: "We should not hesitate to modernize our weapons in order to maintain the reliability of our deterrents. This should include shorter-range nuclear weapons."

He should have said it outright straight away: Some people in the West do not like the disarmament payload of the Soviet Union's decision on major unilateral reduction of its armed forces and arms. Some people, and not just representatives of the military-industrial complex, are worried about their dividends and political positions, which are guaranteed by the "cold war." Evidently they still have not realized that they are also people and they also live on that same planet Earth which is threatened by catastrophe. Remind them of this, Michael Heseltine, if—of course—you yourself are aware of it.

FRG Stance on Disarmament Issues Questioned

PM1912110188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[A. Lukyanov commentary under "The Press Testifies" rubric: "Under Cover of 'Modernization'"]

[Text] There is an unrelenting debate among Bonn political circles about the FRG's stance on matters of disarmament and arms control. What is the problem? All is clear, surely: There are constant statements from leading West German politicians about Bonn's desire to assist the disarmament process.

It has to be said that at certain stages Bonn's words have not been at odds with its actions. Remember, for instance, the FRG's positive role in the reaching of an accord between the USSR and the United States on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

But lately the question has increasingly to be asked: Are people on the Rhine consistent in their advocacy of peace? Pretty strong reasons to doubt this have emerged. News agency and press reports provide illustration of Bonn's inclination to say "yes" to the modernization of NATO tactical nuclear missiles in Europe. It is true that the FRG capital makes its consent dependent on a number of conditions, stating, in particular, the need to elaborate an overall NATO concept of security and disarmament.

The matter is due to be discussed in May and June next year in London.

In the meantime one is worried by facts cited recently by the magazine STERN. The magazine was talking about a secret military plan, carefully kept from the public, which, according to STERN's data, had been sitting in the West German military department's safes for a year. The plan was devised by Hans-Henning von Sandrart, former FRG ground forces inspector, now NATO supreme allied commander in central Europe. In the document the general sets out how, in the event of a war, the Bundeswehr intends to attack the enemy on the other side of the West German border. The intention is to wage war by conventional means, but, if necessary, there is a plan for the use of nuclear weapons.

Von Sandrart insists on the "West's ability to conduct offensive actions on an operational-tactical scale." As he sees it, the Bundeswehr should in many respects take the initiative.

There is another fact about which one cannot help being anxious. With certain reservations, von Sandrart demands that, after political approval of the use of nuclear weapons, the military should decide when to use them and on what scale. In short, STERN remarks—and with good reason—the prerogative of politicians on the use of nuclear weapons is being undermined.

Komplektov Holds Moscow News Briefing 21 Dec

Economic Aid to Nicaragua

LD2112155888 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—"There have been no changes in the level of economic cooperation of the Soviet Union and Nicaragua and there are no grounds to speak about a fall in it", Viktor Komplektov, Soviet deputy foreign minister, said at a briefing here today.

Responding to question put by a journalist, he refuted the allegations of the Nicaraguan opposition press to the effect that the Soviet Union has become cool vis-a-vis Nicaragua lately because of the concerns linked with perestroyka.

The Soviet Union gives very considerable aid to Nicaragua, although it cannot, certainly, cover all of that country's requirements, Komplektov said.

Developing Countries' Debts

LD2112162088 Moscow TASS in English 1601 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—The USSR stands ready to agree, through a mulitilateral procedure with other creditors of the least developed countries (LDC's), on easing the latter's debt burden. Simultaneously the USSR will consider unilateral steps with regard to its own credit partners from the LDC's which number twenty-two. Their indebt [as received] runs into several scores of billions of roubles. This was said by Viktor Komplektov, Soviet deputy foreign minister, at a briefing in the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre today. The briefing for newsmen concentrated mainly on the debt problem of the developing countries, raised in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech before the U.N. General Assembly.

The USSR, the deputy foreign minister said, deems it useful to agree on principles for tackling the problem of external indebtedness of developing nations. It is necessary to recognize the mutual but also a proportional responsibility of all the participants in credit relations for solving the debt problem and ensuring a stable development of the debtor countries. In approaching the problem of credit repayment, one ought to proceed in a manner preventing the creation of unfavourable conditions for development. The debts contracted by now cannot be repaid or recovered in full. Proceeding from these principles, the USSR has stated its readiness to introduce a long moratorium, up to a hundred years, on the repayment of the LDC debts and in some cases to write it off altogether. In making its proposals on how to settle the debt crisis and other problems of the Third World, the Soviet Union says it is ready to participate in mulitilateral efforts in this area, the deputy foreign minister said.

Gandhi Begins Official PRC Visit 20 Dec

PM2112100588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "R. Gandhi's Visit to the PRC"]

[Text] Beijing, 19 Dec—Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi arrived in Beijing on an official visit today. The high-level Indian guest's visit is evaluated here as an event of exceptional importance in the history of bilateral relations.

Also today, talks began in the Chinese capital between Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. At today's meeting the sides exchanged opinions on a number of questions of Sino-Indian relations and international problems of mutual interest.

Speaking about the Sino-Indian border problem, the premier of the PRC State Council declared, in particular, that it can be resolved by the countries on the basis of the principles of mutual understanding and concord. Li Peng pointed out that this problem alone is hampering an improvement in bilateral relations.

An improvement in Sino-Indian relations, the Chinese leader emphasized, is advantageous not only to the PRC and India. It would contribute to the cause of peace throughout Asia.

The Indian leader also touched on the border question. He pointed out that both sides seek to resolve it by means of peaceful and friendly consultations. India is fully determined to resolve this problem in the spirit of mutual benefit. While ways to resolve it are being sought, Rajiv Gandhi pointed out, a calm situation must be maintained on both sides of the border. At the same time both countries could continue developing exchanges and cooperation in various spheres.

The participants in the talks touched on the question of Tibet. The Chinese side declared that the PRC Government takes account of India's principled position, which consists in recognizing Tibet as part of China and not interfering in China's internal affairs. The Indian side reaffirmed that India regards Tibet as an autonomous region of China. The Indian Government does not allow any political forces in its country to engage in political activity which could damage China's internal affairs.

In the afternoon talks also took place here between PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and Indian External Affairs Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao.

Li Peng gave a reception in the Indian guest's honor in the House of People's Assemblies.

Exchange Held on Tibet

*PM2112150988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Meeting in Beijing"]

[Text] Beijing, 20 Dec—The development of Sino-Indian friendship is a contribution to the cause of peace and stability in Asia and throughout the world, PRC Chairman Yang Shangkun stated during a meeting with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who is in China on an official visit. China and India must develop good-neighborly cooperation. The problems which exist in bilateral relations can be resolved in the process of frank, honest, and friendly talks.

Yang Shangkun talked about PRC Government policy as regards Tibet. The central authorities, he said, are helping the Tibetans to resolve their problems. In particular, they are helping to resolve financial difficulties and to develop education and culture in the region. We, the Chinese leader stressed, respect the Tibetan people's religious feelings, customs, and traditions.

In his speech Rajiv Gandhi confirmed the position of India, which recognizes Tibet as an autonomous region of China and does not permit interference in its internal affairs.

The Indian leadership noted that although the positions of the two sides differ on a number of questions, they agree that the five principles of peaceful coexistence are the best principles in international development.

Rajiv Gandhi highly assessed the talks with the Chinese leaders and expressed the hope that his visit to China will serve the development of bilateral cooperation.

'International Review' on Earthquake, UN, PLO

*PM2012100188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4*

[Nikolay Kurdyumov "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] The Soviet people have taken the news of the terrible natural disaster in ancient Armenia, which has taken a huge toll in human life and destruction, as their own personal misfortune, as something close to their hearts. Sharing in the Armenian people's sorrow in this gravest of human tragedies, our entire country from coast to coast has come together during the past days like a united family coming to the assistance of an afflicted member.

The pain of the Armenian people has struck a chord in the hearts of people around the world. The unprecedented worldwide solidarity with the Armenian people, the wave of sympathy and offers of aid and support which have surmounted state, geographical, and ideological boundaries, movingly bear this out. Hundreds of foreign rescue workers and doctors are working at the scene of the catastrophe. Medical supplies and apparatuses, rescue equipment, essential goods, and money transfers are arriving in Armenia from governments as well as public organizations and private citizens of more than 70 countries, including all the socialist countries as well as Norway, France, Britain, Canada, and other states. U.S. humanitarian aid via government channels is arriving for the first time since World War II, when the two countries were allies. "An unprecedented bridge of assistance has now been extended to Armenia, a bridge which spans thousands of miles and 40 years of distrust," Richard Rott, an American accompanying a consignment of medical supplies to the earthquake-stricken area, said.

In the disaster zone proper record keeping and procedures have been established to cover unloading and storing the relief goods arriving from all parts of the country and abroad, and delivering them exclusively to those who have suffered. Together with the Soviet Government, all our people are expressing heartfelt gratitude to all who have responded at this tragic moment to the disaster which has befallen us, with words and deeds and moral and material support.

A Powerful Impetus

The natural calamity in Armenia serves as a tragic reminder of how fragile and vulnerable our planet is, and how great the danger—be it nuclear or ecological—which is threatening all peoples as a result of human activity. And, how badly needed the new thinking and new approaches are today in international politics to avoid irreparable damage, improve the international situation, and build a new, nonviolent world.

Hence, the unflagging interest in M.S. Gorbachev's 7 December UN General Assembly session speech in New York, which insistently appealed for joint efforts to counteract the innumerable centrifugal forces and ensure that the idea of keeping viable the civilization which unites all mankind wins through.

Politicians, statesmen, diplomats, and newspaper observers from many countries will be returning again and again to the Soviet leader's speech, which views the problems and natural laws of the present-day world in a new way, from the positions of the new political thinking, and formulates principles for international relations on the threshold of the third millenium. However, even the first reactions have shown that the ideas and proposals contained in the speech were received throughout the world as the key, inspiring event of recent times—an event after which, in the words of the Yugoslav newspaper VJESNIK, "the world will never be the same again."

The broad, positive response worldwide to the USSR's truly innovative proposals is not surprising. As Polish Foreign Minister T. Olechowski has noted, the idea of demilitarizing international relations, the philosophy of world interdependence, and the triumph of interests common to all mankind over individual interests are in keeping with the interests of the whole international community. The peoples of the world view the USSR's bold initiatives as further proof of the determination and sincere desire of the land of the Soviets to persistently and consistently strive for genuine and effective relaxation of tension in international relations and to contribute by specific actions to curbing the arms race and promoting the development of international cooperation. It is no accident when the news media, politicians, and public figures characterize the decision on a unilateral reduction of armed forces and conventional arms announced by the Soviet leadership as "a new chapter in the history of disarmament," "the most important event in the process of improving East-West relations since the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles," and a "breakthrough" on the way to creating a world containing a minimum of weapons.

Noting the exceptional importance and scale of the new Soviet initiatives, the Japanese newspaper YOMIURI writes that the USSR's decision to reduce the numerical strength of its army by 500,000 men within the next 2 years and to withdraw and dismantle 6 tank divisions from the territory of the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary is a historic step. Unquestionably, the newspaper writes, it will have an enormous impact not only on the course of the talks on reducing conventional arms in Europe but also on the situation in the world as a whole.

In connection with the restructuring of the USSR Armed Forces the West had one key question to ask: Where is the proof? When the Soviet leader was talking about changing the structure of the Armed Forces in accordance with the principle of reasonable sufficiency in defensive, rather than offensive potential, the West quite rightly demanded proof of this. Now M.S. Gorbachev has furnished it—this was the comment of L. Aspin, chairman of the U.S. House of Representatives Armed Services Committee, on the USSR decision.

Many people in the West, above all across the Atlantic, are noting at the moment that the Soviet proposals pave the way to broad U.S.-USSR cooperation and offer the U.S. Administration a unique opportunity to resolve the military expenditure problem which is weighing down the federal budget, and they are calling on incoming President Bush in this context to avail himself of the new opportunities to accelerate the process of arms control negotiations. Describing the Soviet Union's initiatives as "a historic event of amazing dimensions," the newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST, for instance, writes that the Soviet leader has called for a switch from confrontation to a future based on cooperation. If the new U.S. Administration and the new Congress respond appropriately to the Kremlin's proposals, this could mark the beginning of the end of the period of massive expenditures on arms.

Assessing the colossal impact of the Soviet proposals on world public opinion, a WALL STREET JOURNAL observer concludes: "M.S. Gorbachev's speech is the epitaph to the 40-year period which could be described as the Cold War. It will henceforth be difficult to picture the Soviet Union as an enemy ready to invade West Europe. And the arguments in favor of increasing the military budgets of NATO countries will be subjected to increasing criticism by the public of these countries."

Judging by appearances, it was considerations and fears of this kind which also largely determined the reaction of NATO countries to the USSR's bold and far-reaching decision. Assessing the "major step" taken by the Soviet Union on the whole positively, they do not hide the fact that this decision has caught them unprepared. In West European capitals many deliberations along the following lines are currently under way: How should we react to the "challenge from Moscow," and how far should NATO countries go in response to the Soviet Union's initiatives in the arms control sphere? According to the British SUNDAY EXPRESS newspaper, this task is to be resolved by a "supersummit" of Western leaders in London next summer, which Prime Minister M. Thatcher is organizing. Well, that leaves more than enough time and, if that meeting does take place, the people have a right to expect the Western leaders to adopt an honest and businesslike approach, and that NATO's proposals will be truly in line with the demands of the times and the tasks of building a "common European home" and developing all-around cooperation among peoples and states.

The interests of strengthening peace, and equally, the lessons of the past and the realities of the present dictate a reassessment of values and a renunciation of stereotyped thinking also in the sphere of the national security policies of the states, because one-sided emphasis on military strength ultimately weakens the other components of a state's national security. This conclusion, contained in the Soviet leader's speech, is shared by thoughtful specialists in various countries, and above all in the United States where, as a result of the uncontrolled buildup of military expenditure, the problem of a huge budget deficit with all the grave consequences which that entails is looming large. In this context the viewpoint of two prominent U.S. scientists—Carl Sagan and his wife Ann Druyan—expressed in an open letter to George Bush published in the 27 November issue of the weekly PARADE is indicative. (The letter was reprinted in PRAVDA a few days ago.)

The authors of the letter believe that the time has come to squarely face the truth and note: "Does national security really consist in amassing as many weapons and means of mass annihilation as possible? Or are there also other criteria beyond the framework of the narrow military aspect?" The authors remind us that glaring economic, social, and ecological problems have a most direct bearing on national security.

One of the most acute global problems of the present time is the gigantic foreign debt which the developing countries cannot repay on the original terms. The scale of this debt is illustrated by figures contained in a study published by the IMF entitled "World Economic Forecasts." London's THE TIMES writes that this document predicts a Third World debt total of $1.242 trillion by the end of the current year!

The debt crisis is increasingly affecting the situation in the world, exacerbating prevailing contradictions, and condemning dozens of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to the position of permanent debtors, because interest payments on loans swallow up the greater part of export earnings badly needed for the development of their economies. It is not difficult to understand the widespread response evoked everywhere in this situation by the proposal put forward by the Soviet leader from the UN rostrum that debt repayments by Third World countries should be rescheduled or written off altogether. At the same time, the USSR favors a meaningful discussion at multilateral forums of ways to settle the debt crisis. Support for the measures proposed by the USSR with a view to easing and eliminating the debt burden and opening up real prospects for overcoming backwardness in Third World countries was expressed by representatives of Peru, Madagascar, the Philippines, Brazil, and other countries.

The Palestinian Question

A major event of the past week was the 43d UN General Assembly session on Palestine. At the insistence of the international community it was held in Switzerland, at the Geneva Palais des Nations, because of the recent U.S. refusal to issue an entry visa to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

The need to eliminate the explosive confrontational situation in the Near East, which has overshadowed the international situation for many years, is one of the international community's priority tasks. The attention which delegates accorded the Palestinian leader's speech and the plan he put forward, which opens a window to new opportunities in the quest for ways to settle the conflict, were quite natural. The plan includes immediate preparations for an international conference on the Near East and the deployment of UN international forces in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories to monitor the withdrawal of Israeli troops. Under this plan a "comprehensive settlement of the problems among all the parties involved in the conflict, including the Palestinian state, Israel, and other neighboring countries, must guarantee all of them the right to exist in peace and security."

The press of various countries, noting the "extremely peace-loving tone of the speech" delivered by Y. 'Arafat, emphasizes that the "Palestinian peace initiative" which he put forward, the readiness to enter into negotiations with Israel within the framework of an international conference on the basis of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and also the desire to coexist with Israel in conditions of peace and security, denouncing terrorism in all its forms, have confirmed the PLO's role as an authoritative and serious partner in peace negotiations.

Despite the fact that the Israeli prime minister categorically rejected the PLO Executive Committee chairman's proposals, the decisions adopted as a result of the debate in Geneva represent an important step along the difficult path of unblocking the Near East conflict. In resolutions passed by overwhelming majorities, the General Assembly acknowledged the fact of the establishment of a Palestinian state and called for the convocation, without delay, of an international conference on the Near East under the UN aegis. It is to be hoped that progress in this direction will also be facilitated by the decision, announced suddenly by the U.S. President, to open a "substantive dialogue with the PLO."

United States & Canada

Bush Says 'Change' Seen in Soviet Union

LD2012143688 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 20 TASS—"I become the 41 president of the United States at a very interesting and I'd say promising time in American history", said President-elect George Bush speaking on Monday in Washington.

"The meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev on Governors' Island in New York City, was fascinating. I had met the man before...I am not euphorically optimistic but I see enormous opportunities for the development of Soviet- American relations", said Bush. "We are in a changing world", he continued, "and we see change inside the Soviet Union."

"A president has no more important assignment than to work for world peace", said the president-elect underlining his aspiration "to work hard to strengthen the peace so that kids can grow up in a world with more promise of peace and many more resources to solve the remaining problems that plague America."

Bush also said that the American military would have in him "a president keeping the forces strong and defence up".

'Not Much Time' for Bush To Decide Policy

PM2012131388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Yuriy Zhukov article: "The Impotence of Force"]

[Excerpts] Nowadays we all see the truly unprecedented volume of international sympathy our country has received in connection with the terrible calamity in Armenia. There have been catastrophes in the past, too—for instance, in Ashkhabad and Tashkent—and people also came to our aid then. However, by no means on such a scale. Now we don't just have manifestations of humanity and compassion from particular kind people and charitable organizations, but rather something more.

Why are the peoples and governments of dozens of countries of the world, including the United States, where the idea of the USSR as the "evil empire" held sway so recently, taken Armenia's grief so much to heart **this time**? Many people are pondering this question now. They are increasingly frequently drawing the conclusion that this would hardly have been possible were it not for the gradual affirmation of the current new thinking in international relations.

Yes, there is the growing realization that all of us on earth irrespective of our different social systems live in a single, albeit contradictory world, in one big human family. The USSR's constructive, peaceful course, which was expressed particularly clearly in the program statement made by the head of the Soviet state from the UN rostrum on 7 December, serves as a powerful boost for the development of this noble process. [passage omitted]

In my opinion, one of the primary tasks today is to elaborate agreements on a considerable reduction in nuclear and conventional arms.

What stance will the new U.S. Administration take on this question? George Bush told correspondents that he will need time to grasp the existing situation before he can make the appropriate decisions. One can understand this, for it is a question of very serious problems linked with the country's security. But one should not forget that the prevailing situation does not leave much time for reflection.

As they say, until the verdict is in, the Pentagon is continuing to work as before, implementing its long-term programs. The U.S. press reports that a draft budget for the next fiscal year providing for a $12-billion increase rather than a decrease in military spending will be handed to the new administration for examination. At the same time, the United States is demanding a further buildup in military force from its NATO allies.

These facts prompt caution. They clearly go against the powerful tendency toward normalizing the international situation as a whole and Soviet-U.S. relations in particular.

Incidentally, this tendency was reflected in the memorable New York meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, R. Reagan, and G. Bush. Its results gave M.S. Gorbachev grounds for stating that the word **"continuity"** is the key word for determining the results.

Let me recall finally that R. Reagan said the following at the aforementioned final news conference:

"When we met, I said: 'There are two of us in this room. This is a unique situation. We can begin a third world war. We can also bring peace, a lasting peace, to the planet.' Obviously we acted in the latter direction."

Life has shown that these actions were not unfounded. The conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the joint Soviet-U.S. efforts aimed at halting a number of protracted regional conflicts, and the galvanizing of international economic, scientific, technical, and cultural ties are all real facts nowadays.

The entire world is now awaiting the further introduction of the ideas of the new thinking into the development of the international situation. A great deal has been done but immeasurably more still needs to be done. This is a difficult matter, and it will require another tremendous exertion of effort. The main thing is to move forward along this path without stopping.

Commentary Views 'New Relationship' With U.S.

LD2112014588 Moscow in English to North America 2330 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] President-elect George Bush said in Washington on Monday that he sees an enormous opportunity to forge a new relationship with the Soviet Union and further the cause of peace. A comment from our news analyst Vladislav Kozyakov:

[Begin Kozyakov recording] That view of George Bush is fully shared in Moscow. Indeed, Soviet-American relations can be put on a new, higher level. A good foundation has been created for that in the past few years with growing understanding and trust. It is particularly valuable that the two countries were able to come to terms about reducing and destroying part of their nuclear arsenals under the most reliable mutual verification. The main thing now is to carry on dynamically the Soviet-United States dialogue and to develop the process of talks, above all on key issues related to arms control and removing the nuclear menace. As Mikhail Gorbachev said in his book on perestroyka, if the work is successful, why can't we see a flourishing of Soviet-United States relations, a golden age of sorts, to the benefit of both countries and other nations, the whole of the world community?

It is felt in Moscow that despite the existing difficulties, it is possible to conclude next year a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments, with the ABM Treaty remaining intact. Nineteen eighty-nine can also be turned into a decisive year for working out a convention to abolish chemical weapons. As for the coming talks on reductions of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, the Soviet Union has already made a sizable contribution.

Regardless of the outcome of these negotiations, a decision has been taken here to reduce the Soviet Army by half a million men. One can only welcome the statement by the United States president-elect about an enormous opportunity to forge a new relationship with the Soviet Union. One can hope the opportunity is used to the full in solving concrete issues in Soviet-United States relations. The USSR will always show a reciprocity, a readiness to go its part of the way. Mikhail Gorbachev said in a speech at the United Nations that the new United States Administration led by President-elect George Bush will find a partner in us that is ready, without long pauses or backwards movements, to continue the dialogue in a spirit of realism, openness, and goodwill, to carry on the dialogue with a desire to have concrete results on key issues of Soviet-United States relations and international politics. [end recording]

U.S. Ambassador Addresses Military Academy

LD2012135788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1135 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 20 Dec (TASS)—Despite the fundamental disagreements between the Soviet Union and the United States, the nuclear age gives us no choice: We are obliged to preserve peace, said Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR. He spoke on Monday to students at the Nikolay Zhukovskiy Military Air Engineering Academy. This was the third address by an American of ambassadorial rank at a Soviet military academy in the 55-year history of Soviet-U.S. diplomatic relations.

The main duty of the military, the U.S. diplomat commented, consists of defending the legitimate interests of society and in guaranteeing the security of their motherland. In connection with fulfilling this duty, the militaries of the two countries have received from the heads of government a specific and precise instruction: War, as such, is unacceptable. J. Matlock then underlined, thus is derived the "new principle, which demands of militarymen, both in your country and in ours, firm defensive thinking."

U.S. 'Belittling' of Gorbachev Speech Seen

PM1912152188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch under the rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "Sowing Doubts"]

[Text] New York—You get the impression that something of a fissure is gradually beginning to form between how the American "in the street" regards M.S. Gorbachev's speech and how official U.S. circles are treating the proposals by the Soviet leader. The breach is not very great at present, but it is noticeable.

Attention was drawn to this by a CNN television commentator who pointed out that while ordinary Americans regard the speech by the Soviet president as "extremely auspicious," the "government is being cautious."

Vernon Walters, permanent U.S. representative to the United Nations, reacted to this by saying: "The government knows better." Of course, there is no doubt that government departments have a greater store of information, but if we are talking about the speech made by M.S. Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly session and the proposals it contained, the texts were identical—for both the "person in the street" and for top administration officials. Of the former and the latter, the majority considered the speech to be positive, constructive, and exceptionally important. But after these words, officials are beginning to add various "buts" and "ifs."

These additions are becoming increasingly substantial and at times virtually cancel out references to the constructive, exceptionally important nature of the Soviet proposals.

Emphasis is most often placed on the fact that the unilateral cuts in conventional weapons and the USSR Armed Forces are great but...not enough. This has been said by General V. Walters who, pointing out that this is "not enough," warned of the very great difficulties that will arise when the time comes to monitor the Russians' fulfillment of their promises.

The problem of monitoring is also the "hobbyhorse" of Caspar Weinberger, former defense secretary, who, despite the fact that he has left this post, still has the means and the opportunity to influence administration policy. Speaking on a television program, Weinberger said: "The Soviet Union is a closed society. There is no such thing as public opinion there. Debates are not held. A soldier could become a peasant overnight, but a peasant could also be made a soldier overnight, and we in the West would not even know about it. Hence the exceptionally complex problem of verification."

You could wave aside Weinberger's opinions, saying that he is "past history" now and therefore not worthy of attention. But many Americans who have only a very vague idea of the Soviet Union and an even vaguer one of arms control will take Weinberger at his word. I am not even sure that the former defense secretary will confine himself to merely working on ordinary Americans, and that he will not lobby officials in the administration, where the authority of this former cabinet secretary and old friend of the Reagan family is still quite great.

In other words, in my view, a propaganda campaign is already under way in the United States aimed at belittling the importance of Moscow's truly historic initiative and sowing doubts concerning its expediency and feasibility.

I do not rule out the possibility that this impression will be proven wrong and that, instead of a mass of doubts, Washington will propose a program in response which will be possibly even more radical than ours and ensure even more rapid progress toward new, important accords. But there is no particular indication of this at present. On the contrary, voices are being clearly heard—both in the administration and in circles close to it—to say that there is no real hurry to respond to the Soviet proposals and that they should wait until the government of the new president, Bush, assumes power—and until it has had time to consider and work out its own definitive plan of action and determine the priorities. This wait-and-see attitude only increases the doubts.

Visa Chief Condemns U.S. Immigration Quota

PM1912150488 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 50, 11 Dec 88 p 7

[Report on interview with Rudolf Kuznetsov, Interior Ministry visa section chief, by Nikolay Zaborin: "Visa Problem"; date and place not given]

[Text] Over ten months of the current year more than 77,000 Soviet citizens, including children, have been granted permission to emigrate to reunite wth their relatives in other countries. This is what Rudolf Kuznetsov, head of the Soviet Visa and Registration for Foreigners Office (UVIR) of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, told an "MN" correspondent.

UVIR issued permits for the Federal Republic of Germany to more than 24,000 people (2.3 times the 1987 and 36 times the 1986 figure). For Israel, the figure is over 14,000, a 1.8 increase over the 1987 figure. (According to Western press reports, almost 80 per cent of those who leave the USSR with visas for Israel, go, in fact, to the United States, or stay behind in Western Europe. UVIR is not engaged in keeping track of this, but bases its statistics on the information given by the applicants as to their country destination. - Ed.) The US ranks third here. Over 11,000 exit requests have been granted - 2.2 times the 1987 figure. The list includes some other Western countries, and also socialist countries. Emigration to the latter is usually connected with marriage. Only 1.4 per cent of exit requests have been denied, the UVIR spokesman said.

The increasing number of exit permits is connected with changes in Soviet legislation, making it possible to review many applications positively which formerly were rejected. But there are also problems.

On July 1, the American Embassy in Moscow stopped reviewing applications of Soviet citizens wishing to emigrate to the United States. It resumed issuing US visas at the end of July - but only briefly. The process is on hold again until January 1, 1989.

Why? Here is an excerpt from the immigration form dated October 1988, which the Embassy gives to those who want to be reunited with their relatives in the United States.

"You should be aware that obtaining Soviet exit permission is not permission to enter the United States. Given limited immigration numbers as well as the increasing likelihood that you and your US Sponsor will have to establish your ability to support yourself financially upon arrival, the Embassy cannot say now when, or even if, you will eventually qualify for entry to the US."

At a recent press conference in Washington, the State Department spokesman, Charles Redman, noted that the approved US immigration quota from all countries for the 1988 fiscal year is 84,000; from the USSR 16,500 people, 12,500 of whom got their immigration papers in Vienna and Rome, the other 4,000 went directly to the United States from the USSR. The 1989 quota remains unchanged and has already been partly used up. At the same time, according to American sources, 9,000 people who have already received permission to leave the Soviet Union cannot get their entry visas at the American Embassy in Moscow.

"This, indeed creates a problem," confirms Rudolf Kuznetsov. "Under Soviet law, those who wish to emigrate to another country must receive an invitation from close relatives living there, duly attested by the competent bodies of that country. Having received such invitation they apply to UVIR for permission to emigrate. As they prepare to leave the USSR, they turn in their state-owned apartments or sell their cooperative flats and personal property. They also leave their jobs or educational institutions. When they have completed all the formalities and received their foreign passport, they go to the American Embassy only to be told that the Embassy has already used up its immigration quota for the year. Would-be emigres have had to go for months without a job or dwelling of their own. And there is no guarantee that they will get an American visa. Sometimes it turns into a real tragedy.

"Not long ago, we raised this problem with American representatives at the bilateral seminar on humanitarian cooperation," Rudolf Kuznetsov went on to say. "We have voiced our concern over the existing situation. Things really look very funny: Western countries, including the United States, declare that the Soviet Union should step up emigration and allow people to leave the country freely. But they won't accept all those who have been permitted to leave the Soviet Union. These days the American Embassy staff is asking us to hold back on issuing exit permissions until they issue entry visas. But reviewing requests to leave the country is the sovereign right of each country, and we cannot shape our laws to fit American immigration quotas. Moreover, invitations from the United States are certified by the State Department which, therefore, is aware that their number exceeds the quota. Yet the invitations continue to come and our citizens, in keeping with the law, insist that UVIR issue them emigration papers. It looks as if the Americans want to have their pick—to let in those Soviet citizens they need and refuse those for whom they have no use. For our part, we are acting on the assumption that all these people want to leave to be reunited with their close relatives and are, therefore, all equal. This problem is pressing, but we don't know how the Americans are going to deal with it..."

Rudolf Kuznetsov confirmed that new laws making it easier to leave and enter the USSR on private business and for permanent residence are in the making.

China

Li Peng Cited on PRC Ties With South Asia

LD2112030888 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Beijing December 20 TASS—The improvement and development of Chinese-Indian relations will not affect China's relations with other countries of South Asia, Premier of China's State Council Li Peng told a news conference here. China, he said, has been maintaining friendly relations and cooperation with these states.

Speaking about the Chinese-Indian border, Li Peng said that it was the main issue which had impact on relations between the two countries. The heads of two governments had protracted talks on this issue which would continue in future. There is a good atmosphere for this.

Taking up the Kampuchean issue, Li Peng set out China's position on this problem. China, the Chinese leader said, agrees to international control and sending an international peace-keeping force to Kampuchea. If Vietnam pulls out its troops, all sides, including China, should halt military support for all Kampuchean forces. China will be gradually scaling down military aid to Kampuchea to match the Vietnamese withdrawal. China does not pursue its own ends in Kampuchea, the premier stressed.

Leningrad City Delegation Visits Shanghai

OW2012014988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] The Leningrad City Soviet delegation has arrived in Shanghai for a friendly visit at the invitation of the Chinese side. The delegation is headed by Chairman Khodyrev of the Executive Committee of the Leningrad City Soviet.

The purpose of the visit is to restore friendly contacts between the two fraternal cities. During the visit, both sides will discuss cooperation in production and the development of trade. Their talks will also concern the establishment of a department store in Shanghai by the Soviet side and the establishment of a department store in Leningrad by the Chinese side, as well as the construction of various projects.

They will discuss cooperation in the production of shoes and clothing and the setting up of joint ventures. In addition, both sides will discuss the exchange of youth and professional delegations, the holding of exhibitions, the opening of cultural centers, and the holding of friendship city day activities in the future.

Cooperation With PRC Shipping Register Noted

LD2112030588 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Leningrad December 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Lev Frolov:

It will take the seamen of the Chinese Merchant Marine little time to obtain a certificate of vessel readiness for a voyage in the event of emergency or planned repairs at Soviet ports.

In accordance with international regulations, the necessary documents would be drawn up by Soviet experts. They have been granted this right on the strength of a treaty of mutual power of substitution signed by the Chinese classification society and the shipping register of the Soviet Union.

The Chinese side, for its part, was granted a similar right to carry out technical supervision, classification and exchange of Soviet-flagged ships on Chinese territory.

Rostislav Belik, director of the USSR shipping register, has said the agreement between the classification societies of the two countries has been resumed after a twenty-year interval, at first, each side will monitor, mainly, repairs as well as the production of marine equipment, specifically, diesel engines which are made in the PRC for ships which are built in Romania on orders placed by the Soviet Union.

In prospect, Rostislav Belik believes, the USSR shipping register may transfer its powers to the Chinese partner in the construction of a new fleet at Chinese shipyards for Soviet Far Eastern sea shipping companies.

Mutual power of substitution is a kind of 'sign of trust' accepted among the world's leading classification societies united in the International Association of Classification Societies (IACS). Belik said the Soviet Union was the initiator of granting IACS membership to the shipping register of the PRC.

PRC Official on Copyright Protection Efforts

OW2012014588 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] There are broad prospects for Sino-Soviet cooperation in copyright protection, said Li Qi, a senior official of the All-China Copyright Association, in an interview with TASS.

Li Qi is currently leading a Chinese delegation on a visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Copyright Association.

He said: Such cooperation would include an exchange of information and visits by experts, as well as joint meetings and seminars on relevant issues.

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze Continues Far Eastern Visit

Meets Foreign Minister Uno

OW2012024988 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze is now visiting Japan. Moscow radio's Tokyo correspondent Potapov reports on it as follows:

On the morning of 19 December, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze paid a visit to the emperor's palace, and signed his name on a list of well-wishers for the emperor. This was done in deference to the Japanese Constitution as well as the Japanese tradition upholding the emperor as a symbol of the nation. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze later held two rounds of closed-door meetings with Foreign Minister Uno. According to a source close to the Japanese Foreign Ministry, it appears that topics in the talks included such international issues as East-West relations, the Cambodian question, the Asia-Pacific regional situation and that of the Korean peninsula, in addition to various bilateral issues pending between the two countries.

Foreign Minister Shevardnadze delivered a speech at Iikura Hall in the Japanese Foreign Ministry in the evening of 19 December. He is also due to meet with Prime Minister Takeshita, LDP [Liberal Democratic Party] General Secretary Abe, and former Prime Minister Nakasone on the morning of 20 December.

He will also enter the final round of negotiations with Foreign Minister Uno on the afternoon of 20 December. They will discuss their joint communique. On the evening of 20 December, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze is scheduled to give a lecture to Japanese politicians, social activists, businessmen, and scientists concerning Soviet foreign policy and the international situation.

Confers With Japanese Leaders

PM2112111588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Continuation of Talks"]

[Text] Tokyo, 20 Dec—Today E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, met with N. Takeshita, Japanese prime minister, to whom he presented a message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership the USSR foreign minister expressed thanks to the Japanese Government and people for the sympathy and material aid they have given in connection with the natural disaster that struck Soviet Armenia.

The Japanese prime minister welcomed the general direction and main provisions of M.S. Gorbachev's speech to the United Nations on 7 December. He displayed great interest in the Soviet leadership's views of the world and the principles for mutual relations between states, and in the Soviet Union's specific steps and proposals in the spirit of the new political thinking.

N. Takeshita commented positively on the processes taking place in the Soviet Union and said that the Japanese Government wishes the policy of restructuring success and that it connects with this "second revolution" its hopes for the further active development of Soviet-Japanese relations.

The prime minister described plans for the implementation of the administrative reform in Japan, which should lend a new impetus to the country's economy.

N. Takeshita stressed that he and his cabinet intend to consistently steer a course toward increasing Japan's international contribution and toward its participation in the solution of global and regional problems together with other states. In particular, Japan sees its task in promoting the improvement and stabilization of East-West relations. Japan is interested in consolidating security and developing cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, and it is prepared to cooperate on these questions with the Soviet Union, the United States, and the countries of this region.

N. Takeshita said that Japan considers relations with the Soviet Union to be an important avenue of its foreign policy. Much must be done to improve and stabilize them, and a solution must be found to several questions of a bilateral nature.

E.A. Shevardnadze confirmed the Soviet Union's readiness to improve relations with Japan and to conduct active a political dialogue with it on questions of international politics, regional problems, and bilateral issues. In their present form, Soviet-Japanese relations cannot fully accord with the interests of our own countries or with the broader interests of the world. This situation hardly corresponds to our countries' potential and their place in international politics.

With a view to preparing for a meeting of the top leaders of the USSR and Japan, the Soviet side suggested holding regular meetings of the two countries' foreign ministers. The Japanese head of government said that he wholly supports this idea.

The prime minister was presented with an invitation to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the course of the Soviet-Japanese talks in Tokyo.

The talk took place in a friendly atmosphere and was of an open and profound nature.

E.A. Shevardnadze had talks with S. Abe, Japanese LDP secretary general; Y. Nakasone, former prime minister; and T. Doi, chairwoman of the Japanese Socialist Party Central Executive Committee.

Talks ended today between E.A. Shevardnadze and Japanese Foreign Minister S. Uno.

The ministers confirmed their mutual desire to develop and improve Soviet-Japanese relations on the basis of mutual respect, equality, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. In this connection they indicated the great importance of political dialogue between the two countries at various levels as a means of lending dynamism to the entire complex of Soviet-Japanese relations.

The results of the sessions of the working groups on questions of a peace treaty, bilateral relations, and regional problems were summed up.

The sides expressed their intention to promote the further expansion of trade and economic ties between the USSR and Japan on the basis of mutual advantage, including through the introduction of new, promising forms of cooperation.

E.A. Shevardnadze invited S. Uno to pay an official visit to the USSR. The time of the visit will be agreed upon later.

The minister signed notes on the entry into force of the program for the implementation of the agreement between the USSR and Japanese Governments on cultural relations for the period 1989-91 and expressed a desire to promote its successful implementation.

There was an exchange of documents on the ratification of the convention between the USSR and Japanese Governments on the conservation of migratory birds and birds under threat of extinction, and of their habitat.

A joint Soviet-Japanese communique, the text of which will be published, was adopted on the results of the talks.

Speaks on International Relations

PM2112103788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Toward New International Relations"]

[Text] Tokyo, 20 Dec—E.A. Shevardnadze has delivered a report "On the New International Relations" to the Japanese Institute for the Study of International Problems.

Those present in the auditorium included members of the Japanese Government, Dietmen, prominent politicians and public figures, and representatives of business circles and the mass media.

Having chosen as the theme for my report the new international relations, the USSR minister of foreign affairs said, I would like to argue it along the lines of the fundamentals adduced in the speech of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the United Nations on 7 December 1988.

Among the multitude of problems of our century facing humanity, the main one, evidently, is its capacity to reconsider fundamentally its attitude to force and to adopt a policy aimed at removing it from interstate relations. This challenge of the times is addressed exclusively to our generation, and we cannot refuse to take it up.

We are the only ones who will sift through the inheritance we have received in order to cleanse it as much as possible from all that could wreck peace.

Those modern thinkers who assert that our generation has almost no time left are absolutely right. The preceding generations were able to set aside for the future the problems that had accumulated. We cannot do this. In the conditions of being pressed for time, we must make many moves, without making a mistake in any of them.

Yes, ballistic nuclear missiles and ground-based cruise missiles in the 500-5,000-km range are being removed from arsenals. But at the same time the number of long-range cruise missiles is increasing—both sea- and air-launched.

We possess the firm conviction that we can reach an agreement with the United States on 50-percent cuts in strategic weapons, but even this great step toward a nuclear-free world will turn out to be too small if the creation of nonstrategic nuclear arms continues as before.

The conclusion is clear: It is essential to reduce the absolute dimensions of the threat hanging over the world. This cannot be achieved while nuclear tests continue.

In this connection I wish to remind you that the Soviet Union proposes to ban in full all nuclear tests, and that it is prepared to introduce, as the first step toward this, a reciprocal moratorium on all nuclear tests together with the United States.

Of course, nuclear weapons are just a part of the problem of force. But we will be able to meet the challenge of the times only if we leave to future generations a nuclear-free world or if we at least go beyond the point of no return en route to it.

History provides evidence that at transitions from one stage in social development to another, vague conjectures and assumptions are, by degree, transformed into a harmonious system of views on possible ways out of dead ends. The intellect thinks up emergency rescue mechanisms. Thus, the Renaissance drew Europe out of the dead ends of the Middle Ages. Thus, the ideas of the great French Revolution disrupted the pernicious process of feudal stagnation. Thus, our October Revolution radically influenced the course of world events.

Now time has brought us the need to restructure the political way of thinking, and to orient it on a scale of priorities that would objectively reflect the values of mankind in general.

On the broadest reckoning, this is a challenge of a Renaissance scale. The current generation of people is the generation of transition. It has fallen to its lot to take the world out of its period of adolescent pugnacity and to usher it into the age of wise maturity. This is its great mission.

In our view, the transition to mature international relations suggests their democratization, humanization, and their being stripped of the ideological process.

In the opinion of Mikhail Gorbachev, E.A. Shevardnadze stressed, what is necessary for tackling global problems is a new quality of interaction between the states and sociopolitical currents, regardless of ideological and other disagreements. It is necessary to tackle global problems by way of the internationalization of the dialogue and talks.

Only by searching for universal human consensus is a single, integrated, interrelated, and mutually dependent world capable of surviving and developing.

Can we assert that these new realities are reflected adequately in the national policy of these or those states, in international relations, in the activity of the United Nations? Unfortunately, the international community is slow in coming up with an answer in this area, too. Problems grow up and worsen more quickly than politics manage to react to them. A new level of international interaction is needed, in order to at least put an end to the arms race, to halt the process of the degradation of the environment, and to take control of forces working to undermine the economic foundation of the world's existence.

The ability of the international community to cohere, to cooperate, and to harmonize national and universal interests is also an indicator of its political maturity. We shall truly have to make a leap in our understanding of such categories as what is ours, what is theirs, and what is ours jointly.

Mankind cannot be united while hotbeds of armed conflict still exist in individual regions of the world, while blood is being shed, and while vast material resources are being senselessly expended.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is evidence that we not only understand our responsibility for settling regional conflicts, but also that we act responsibly in regard to the international community.

The world has clearly grown more mature in its approach to explosive situations. And right away immense progress was made in settling regional conflicts. Everywhere the situation is changing for the better.

On this subject, we must note the exceptionally important role of the United Nations in regional situations. This organization is the incarnation of the will of the international community, of the United Nations, and it can be an influential factor in international relations to the extent to which we are ready to act jointly in accordance with the lofty aims of the UN Charter.

E.A. Shevardnaze went on to focus attention on the region common to the Soviet Union and Japan—the Pacific Basin.

Japanese political and business circles, he said, know about our vision of ways to strengthen security and development and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific zone. The Soviet concept on this account was expounded by Mikhail Gorbachev in his addresses in Vladivostok and recently in Krasnoyarsk.

Our proposals are an invitation to conversation between all countries relating to the region in question. They are an invitation, too, of course, to Soviet-Japanese dialogue on this topic.

We would pose the question thus: Are the proposed measures for enhancing security in the region realistic? Can they be implemented? By way of reply one could cite the example of Europe, where the idea of a conference on security and cooperation also seemed unrealistic, at one time. But if this example appears to some people to be inapplicable to the Asia-Pacific region, then let us seek other criteria together. The main thing is to start discussions, to start acting so as not to allow the problems to grow and so as to move toward resolving them, working toward reducing tension and military confrontation, and toward the development of cooperation and interaction.

I am convinced that unless our generation copes with these tasks, it will be far harder for our successors.

Having carried out an analysis of the trends forming in the area of ensuring security, the minister noted that in this case it is right to speak of a revolution in conceptions, of ways of ensuring peace. This revolution in thinking is commensurate with the material reality of today's word, in which troops and armed forces are being reduced, military spending is diminishing, trust is ripening, and there is a growth in mutual confidence in intentions, based on the predictibility of each side's actions.

Is the present generation capable of finally burying the cold war? I am convinced that things are heading that way, said E.A. Shevardnadze.

We are aware that not everyone takes such a view of the prospects. There is a widespread view that a nuclear-free, demilitarized world is impossible. To this one can object that notions of the possible and the impossible are relative. At one time it was believed that a heavier-than-air structure could not and would not fly. Yet today we are lifting hundred-tonne cargoes into space.

It is said that violence is an aboriginal part of human nature. We shall not accept such views. While not entering into a discussion on this topic, I would like to say that in every society there is a fight against crime, and outbreaks of individual and group violence. The idea of maintaining international security by methods similar to those which protect the security of citizens in society is not that "crazy."

Nobody has yet proven that common human values are treated differently at the national and international levels, that the commandment: Thou shall not kill, should not be observed by a citizen but may be transgressed by a state.

The level of maturity in international relations can be defined in different ways, but the laws of their development are rooted in adherence to universal human values and are oriented toward a universal human priority.

Our official visit to Japan is coming to an end. If you were to ask about its results, I would say that we are not yet threatened with euphoria. However, there is satisfaction, and it is connected to a clearly perceptible element of movement.

First and foremost, this is a clearly expressed desire for a new chapter to be opened in Soviet-Japanese relations.

The Soviet side has proposed that its first page be filled with regular discussions on a permanent basis of a peace treaty, within the framework of which the whole range of problems troubling each of the two sides will be considered.

According to our plan, these talks would be held at a working, expert level, at the level of deputy ministers, and moving finally to the level of the head of the diplomatic corps of our countries.

We agreed with Mr Uno to intensify our contacts, having it in mind also to prepare for a Soviet-Japanese summit meeting.

The word perestroyka has become the most popular word in Japan this year. I wish to assure you that having forever gained a place in the political lexicon of the country and of the world, it will continue at the head, not only as a concept, but also as a movement, attaining increasingly specific and perceptible results in the field of disarmament, and in our relations with the countries of the world, including Japan.

The ideas of good-neighborliness and of a balance of interests are integral to our restructuring, to use the words of M.S. Gorbachev, which is increasingly revealing its immense potential for peace and cooperation. We will put them into practice.

Views Planned Summit With Japan

LD2112092088 Moscow TASS in English 0752 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo December 21 TASS—The foreign ministers of the USSR and Japan are beginning to prepare a Soviet-Japanese summit, Eduard Shevardnadze told a news conference here on Wednesday.

The Soviet foreign minister summed up the results of his official visit to Japan, during which he met Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita and other prominent Japanese politicians and conferred with his Japanese opposite number Sosuke Uno.

Shevardnadze said that during their meeting Takeshita had approved the idea, which had already been broached at Soviet-Japanese talks, that the foreign ministers of the two countries begin active preparations for a summit.

"Mr. Uno and I plan to meet again as early as in the first half of January in Paris and then in Moscow to hold substantive, purposeful consultations on every aspect of the summit," the Soviet foreign minister said.

Those consultations, he added, could help decide when the Soviet-Japanese summit would take place.

Speaking of his visit and talks here, Shevardnadze described them as very friendly in tone and very profound in substance.

"This was perhaps one of the most productive visits over recent years," he said, noting that "a mutual understanding was reached, which makes it possible, to my mind, to speak of the start of a new chapter in Soviet-Japanese relations."

"It is imperative for such states as the Soviet Union and Japan not simply to have a normal relationship but to closely interact," the Soviet foreign minister went on.

"The significance of the Tokyo negotiations is primarily in their having given a positive answer to one very important question of principle: Both the Japanese side and the Soviet side are aware that their relationship should not stray from the mainstream of historical progress and fall behind progressive trends in world politics.

"This does not mean that one of them is making concessions and doing more than the other. We are jointly looking for mutually acceptable approaches which will take account of the two countries' fundamental positions," Shevardnadze said.

"We believe that an important step was taken here in Tokyo, opening up great prospects for Soviet-Japanese political dialogue and for the practical development of our relations," he continued.

Shevardnadze stressed that, at the time as Soviet-Japanese summit preparations, a mechanism was being created to allow consideration on a continuous basis of a possible peace treaty between the two countries, including the whole gamut of problems of interest to either country.

He explained that the mechanism would function at three levels: expert, deputy foreign mninister and foreign minister.

Both sides, the Soviet foreign minister said, intended to apply serious and intensive efforts to achieve results.

"On the whole," he added, "we agree that Soviet-Japanese dialogue will cover bilateral relations and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific and address global problems."

Shevardnadze pointed to a new development in bilateral relations—"by agreement between the sides, experts groups on a peace treaty, on regional problems and on bilateral relations were set up during this visit in addition to the talks between the ministers".

Both sides, Shevardnadze added, expressed the intention to assist continued Soviet-Japanese contacts in commercial and economic fields on principles of mutual benefit, including new and promising forms of cooperation.

To increase these and other contacts, the Soviet foreign miniser said, "we suggested studying the possibility of drafting further intergovernmental agreements in a number of areas".

He added that the Soviet side had voiced readiness to hold talks on agreements on cooperation in environmental protection and in peaceful uses of outer space, on principles for economic cooperation, on mutual protection for investments and on the reciprocal opening of bank branches.

The Soviet foreign minister expressed heartfelt gratitude for the sympathy, compassion and aid with which Japanese people had responded to the devastating earthquake in Armenia.

On PRC Summit; Rules Out ROK Ties

LD2112131188 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo December 21 TASS—Replying to pressmen at a news conference here today, the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said, among other things, that in compliance with the agreement recorded in the joint Soviet- Japanese statement of October 10th, 1973, the foreign ministers of the USSR and Japan had held talks pertaining to the conclusion of a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty and on questions that could be covered by it. Both parties have clarified their perceptions of the historical and political aspects linked with the elimination of difficulties in bilateral relations. The ministers agreed to set up a permanent working group at the level of deputy foreign ministers which would be authorised to continue the discussions so as to promote progress in the peace-treaty negotiations.

According to Eduard Shevardnadze, this is an important result of the two-day, very persistent, interesting and comprehensive discussions both at the level of working groups and ministers. The peace treaty involves a most difficult complex of political, economic, geographical and many other questions. We are at the beginning of a very complicated, difficult, but extremely responsible and necessary job.

Asked about the date of the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, he said that it had not been set yet. Agreement was reached in principle to hold the meeting in the first half of next year. It is common knowledge that a reply visit of the Soviet foreign minister to the PRC is to come shortly. It is not ruled out, Eduard Shevardnadze said, that it will take place late in January-early in February 1989. The sides will consider the date for the summit meeting during this visit.

Eduard Shevardnadze also informed pressmen that a decision was taken in the Soviet Union to establish non-government commercial and economic relations with South Korea. This decision does not imply either the establishment of diplomatic or inter-state relations in any form whatsoever. It was made known in advance, he said, to our friends in the Korean People's Democratic Republic, an ally of the USSR. The Soviet minister expressed the conviction that his forthcoming visit to the KDPR [DPRK] would be marked by the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding traditional for the two countries.

Seen Off by Counterpart

LD2112100188 Moscow TASS in English 0943 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo December 21 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, left Tokyo today. He had been staying on an official visit in Japan at the invitation of the Japanese Government.

At Haneda Airport he was seen off by Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno, Soviet ambassador to Japan Nikolay Solovyev, Japan's Ambassador to the Soviet Union Toshiaki Muto, and other Japanese officials.

Arrives in Manila 21 Dec

LD2112102488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0733 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Manila, 21 Dec (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Manila today on a short working visit. He was met at Manila international Airport by Raul Manglapus, Philippine minister of foreign affairs, and other officials. O.M. Sokolov, USSR ambassador to the Philippines, and Alejandro Melchor, Philippine ambassador to the USSR, were among the welcoming party.

Japanese Minister Abe Discusses Soviet Ties

OW2112130188 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Excerpts] We report the following from an interview given by Abe, Japanese LDP [Liberal Democratic Party] general secretary, to Potapov, Moscow radio correspondent in Tokyo. Secretary General Abe said the following:

I sincerely welcome Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Japan. His visit is beginning when the people of the Soviet Union are saddened by the disaster in Armenia. [passage omitted]

This is Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's second visit to Japan. I hope that Japan-USSR relations will take a stride forward on this occasion, and that his visit will contribute to preparing the ground for a visit to Japan next year by Gorbachev, CPSU general secretary and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

In my previous meetings with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and the general secretary, I expressed the hope that Japanese-USSR relations would expand in various areas. But, to my regret, there have not been remarkable developments in the relations between our two countries. There has been some progress in bilateral trade, tourism, and personnel exchanges, but overall, progress has not attained the extent desired.

What I want to note in this regard is that the northern territories question is the major obstacle. We think that Japan-USSR relations cannot make much progress while the territorial question remains unresolved.

In view of the better relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the improved relations between the Soviet Union and China, the delay seen in the development of Japanese-USSR relations is a disappointment to us. Japanese-USSR relations must be improved.

Relations With Japan, Asia-Pacific Region Noted

[Editorial Report] LD1812191888 Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 18 December in its "International Panorama" program presented by Vsevelod Ovchinnikov carries a 5-minute report on the Asia-Pacific region.

Ovchinnikov notes that it is 10 years since restructuring began in China, and looks briefly at the economic and political achievements of that country, as a result of reform and greater openness. He says: "It has become a vital necessity for our peoples to exchange experience, and to learn from each other's successes and failures. The interests of our states in the international arena coincide in many ways—in the work of preventing a nuclear catastrophe and strengthening security in the Asia-Pacific region. At the beginning of next year, the USSR foreign minister will make an official visit to Beijing for the first time in several decades."

Ovchinnikov then moves on to Shevardnadze's present visit to the Far East and, in particular, Japan. He says that now that there has been a marked improvement in relations between the USSR and United States and between the USSR and China, the stagnation in Soviet-Japanese relations seems unnatural. He states: "However, certain people in Tokyo evidently think otherwise, as if to say that having made its foreign policy more dynamic in all areas, the USSR will not fail to bring about movement in the Japanese component of its policy, by itself. Thus, by demonstrating greater rigidity, it will therefore be possible to obtain the so-called northern territories from it. Adherents of such views interpret restructuring merely as compromises on the part of the Soviet Union. However the pointlessness of the categorical claims is becoming clearer and clearer. Even conservative politicians are aware that controversial problems can be resolved only on the basis of mutually acceptable compromises. What is more, the precedent in Japanese-Chinese relations is cited, in which the question of the possession of the Senkaku Islands was left to the discretion of future generations, as, incidentally, was the dispute between Tokyo and Seoul over Take-Shima.

"During the previous exchange of visits by the foreign ministers 2 years ago, a 5-year agreement on trade and payments was signed in Tokyo, and in Moscow, an agreement on cultural ties. One would like to hope that the present talks in the Japanese capital will bear fruit both on bilateral affairs and on Asia-Pacific problems. This is where, as was noted in Vladivostock and Krasnoyarsk, the Soviet Union and Japan have great opportunities for cooperation."

Cooperation With Japan on Fishing Assessed

LD2012104088 Moscow TASS in English 2247 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Vladimirov:

Cooperation in fisheries ranging from the studies of marine fauna in the North Pacific and trade in fish to upgrading fishing implements to processing equipment holds traditionally one of the leading places in the complex of Soviet-Japanese economic relations.

Cooperation developing on the basis of bilateral agreements is oriented at more rational methods of using fish stock and processing marine resources. The biggest number of Soviet-Japanese joint ventures in the USSR are those in fisheries. One of these enterprises will be engaged in the reproduction and catches of salmon, another in the catches of Alaska pollack and manufacturing prepared foods, while a third will promote the widening of exchange between fishing cooperatives of the two countries. Some ten projects of joint enterprise in fisheries are being discussed.

A detailed analysis of all the questions is characteristic of Soviet-Japanese talks on fisheries. This was so at the fifth session of the bilateral commission on fisheries that was concluded recently in Tokyo. The commission was formed under the Soviet-Japanese agreement signed in 1984. Quotas of 210,000 tons for each side were established on free-of-charge basis for the next year for fishing operations in the 200-mile economic zones of the two countries. Besides that, the Soviet side offered to Japanese fishermen an additional quota of 100,000 tons for a monetary compensation. There is a possibility of increasing the USSR's export of Alaska pollack to Japan.

Not all the questions on the session's agenda have yet been resolved, however, it was learnt from the USSR Ministry of Fisheries. Specifically, there is not yet clarity about the possibilities for calls at a Japanese port by

Soviet fishing vessels conducting operations in Japan's zone to rest the crews and replenish food stocks. The USSR proposes to resolve this question on a mutual basis.

It was also pointed to the Japanese side that measures to prevent violations by Japanese fishermen of rules of fishing operations in the Soviet Economic Zone are not effective enough, as some 150 such violations were registered in the first ten months of the current year.

The Soviet partners hope that outstanding problems of fishing operations in the 200-mile economic zones of the two countries will be shortly resolved.

Joint Mongolian Cooperation Session Ends

PM1912111988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In the Spirit of Friendship"]

[Text] The 35th session of the Soviet-Mongolian commission for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation was held in Moscow 12-16 December.

The Soviet and Mongolian delegations were led respectively by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and B. Altangerel, member of the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers.

The sides discussed a broad range of questions of USSR-Mongolian cooperation and ways to improve it.

Measures designed to further develop USSR-Mongolian economic ties in the sector of consumer goods production were coordinated with a view to implementing existing accords on the social thrust of Soviet-Mongolian cooperation. In particular, they provide for increasing the production volume, broadening the range, and improving the quality of consumer goods on the basis of cooperation between Mongolian and Soviet enterprises and organizations; retooling light industry enterprises built in Mongolia with USSR assistance; and continuing the work to broaden direct production ties and trade exchange operations, including on the basis of customer-supplied raw materials from the Soviet Union.

In order to boost the effectiveness of geological prospecting work in the western areas of Mongolia, the sides agreed to pool the efforts of Soviet and Mongolian organizations to accelerate the exploration, prospecting, and preparation of deposits and their exploitation. Measures were formulated to develop material and technical bases for geological and research organizations and to make rational use of manpower resources.

The commission session discussed progress in fulfilling mutual obligations under the USSR-Mongolian agreement on trade turnover and payments for this 5-year plan. The sides noted the great importance for both countries' economies of the timely fulfillment of the agreed-upon volumes of reciprocal deliveries of goods. Soviet and Mongolian organizations were apprised of the need to adopt measures to unfailingly ensure deliveries of material resources to facilities under construction in Mongolia and primarily to installations due for to be commissioned in 1989-90.

Progress on realizing a concept for the development of USSR-Mongolian foreign economic ties for the period through the year 2005 was also examined.

During the commission's work a protocol on USSR-Mongolian commodity turnover and payments for 1989 and other documents were signed.

The talks took place in a spirit of friendship and complete mutual understanding.

DPRK Parliamentarians Make Moscow Stopover

PM1612160188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, met with a delegation of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly headed by Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly Standing Committee, which was making a stopover in Moscow.

Opinions were exchanged on questions of cooperation between the two countries' parliaments.

Kim Hui-su, DPRK charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippine Foreign Minister on Shevardnadze Tour

LD2112023088 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Manila December 20 TASS—Philippine Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus told journalists on Tuesday concerning the official visit to the Philippines of Eduard Shevardnadze, which begins on December 21, that during the talks it is supposed to discuss a possible expansion of commerce with the Soviet Union. Manglapus said that he welcomed proposals for cooperation if they benefitted the Philippines economically.

According to the minister, the Philippine side did not intend to raise the issue of U.S. military bases at the talks. However, if this topic is mentioned by the Soviet side, we will confirm our stance, that is that the Philippines supports any initiatives which aim to relieve tension in the region and lead to the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in it, he said.

SRV Troop Withdrawal Assists Cambodian Talks

BK2012162088 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 20 December 88

[Commentary by station observer Vasiliy Fedorov]

[Text] Cambodia is preparing to enter into a new year with hope for a bright future. For Cambodia, the end of this year is filled with various events, which can be appreciated as new significant moves toward putting an end to the conflict that has dragged on for many years. Our observer, Comrade Vasiliy Federov, has the following comments:

December 21 is marked by two special events, which are: first, the completion of the withdrawal of the 50,000 Vietnamese volunteer troops from Cambodia—the pullout having begun in the middle of the year—and second, on the same day at the Cambodian Embassy in France, the working commission for a solution to the Cambodian conflict will begin its first meeting. According to informed sources, all the representatives from the Cambodian quadripartite body will participate in the discussion.

Vietnam's position on the withdrawal of its troops from Cambodia has been well known for a long time. The withdrawal, which began 6 years ago, has progressively moved toward a conclusion, especially this year, when the number of Vietnamese troops present in Cambodia was reduced twice. In the middle of the year, Vietnam repatriated the military command of its troops remaining in Cambodia. At the same time, the units of the Vietnamese volunteer army were relocated 30 km away from the Cambodian-Thai border in order to avoid military hostilities. Now, after the reduction of 50,000 men, the Vietnamese forces' presence in Cambodia is insignificant. The detachment of the repatriated divisional groups, which still remain in Cambodia, will be split into smaller and separate units. And the military operations of those units will be organized and controlled by the KPRAF [Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Armed Forces] command.

It seems only recently that all the forces opposing Phnom Penh and Hanoi frequently interpreted reports on the Vietnamese troop withdrawal as pure propaganda. However, now at the end of 1988, the situation, which has greatly changed, cannot be ignored, especially by the Cambodian opposition parties, which have used the presence of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia as a pretext to avoid negotiations. If they still persist in this attitude, they will certainly miss the boat.

At present, what is apparent is that the remaining Vietnamese troops will leave Cambodia by the end of March 1990 at the latest, and that the Cambodian opposition parties have changed their attitude, and that perhaps the stance of the groups who have provided support to those factions, will undergo changes as well. Anyway, the talks on a settlement of the Cambodian problem are progressing.

We still remember the Bogor meeting in midyear and the November talks in Paris between Comrade Hun Sen, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and Son Sann, in which the Khmer Rouge group did not participate. Its representative will now join the first meeting of the working commission. In my opinion, its decision was made under the influence of the report that the Vietnamese side has properly fulfilled its commitment to withdraw 50,000 Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. By doing this, favorable conditions have been created for the continuation of talks.

These comments were presented by our observer Vasiliy Federov.

Commentary on Prospects for Cambodian Solution

BK1912032188 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Station commentary]

[Text] Another 18,000 Vietnamese volunteer combatants are withdrawing from their positions in Cambodia and returning home.

UN Deputy Secretary General Ahmed Rafiuddin is now in Cambodia to observe this withdrawal of Vietnamese Army volunteers. During his meeting with Hun Sen, the head of the PRK Government, Ahmed Rafiuddin said that there were positive changes on the road toward settling the Cambodian problem.

In our commentator's opinion, people can now talk about some constructive measures for resolving the Cambodian conflict. The road toward this goal is not smooth because it has been lined with many obstacles ever since the outburst of tension in Southeast Asia due to the situation in and around Cambodia. However, one may note with optimism that the current situation is marked by a general understanding that all of the measures are aimed at creating an independent, neutral, and nonaligned Cambodia. This understanding was expressed during the November meeting in France between Comrade Hun Sen, head of the PRK Government, and Samdech Sihanouk and Mr Son Sann, leaders of the warring Cambodian groups. This meeting, as noted by the propaganda machines that closely watched this meeting of the Cambodian factions, was an important step in the search for a solution to the Cambodian problem.

We wish to inform our listeners that an important key to the search for a solution to the Cambodian conflict is the withdrawal of Vietnamese Army volunteers from Cambodia. It should be noted that this withdrawal is closely linked to a guarantee that the genocidal Pol Pot clique will not be allowed to return to power. This is certainly in order, for the PRK Government requested that Vietnam give military assistance to this young republic in order to prevent the Cambodian people from facing another tragedy. As noted in Phnom Penh, the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia is possible because of the PRK Armed Forces' stronger combat capability.

In a favorable development of the situation in and around Cambodia, all of the Vietnamese Army volunteers will be withdrawn from Cambodia in 1990. As of now, half of the Vietnamese troops and all of the Vietnamese military advisers in Cambodia have been withdrawn and have returned home. This has created a favorable condition for continuing the dialogue to settle the Cambodian conflict.

In the Soviet Union, the withdrawal of the Vietnamese Army volunteers from Cambodia is regarded as a great constructive contribution to normalizing the situation in the entire Southeast Asia region.

Near East & South Asia

Start of U.S.-PLO Talks in Tunisia Reported

LD1612210988 Moscow TASS in English 2026 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Tunis December 16 TASS—Today the first official meeting between the Palestinian delegation and the U.S. ambassador to Tunisia who was empowered by the U.S. Administration to conduct a dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization, took place in the Tunisian city of Carthage.

The Palestinian side at the meeting was represented by 'Abdallah Hurani and Yasir 'Abd al-Rabbuh, members of the PLO Executive Committee.

Yasir 'Abd al-Rabbuh told journalists after the meeting which lasted for 90 minutes that the date of the next meeting was not fixed. However, it will possibly take place after next January 20. In turn, the U.S. ambassador to Tunisia said at a briefing for American pressmen that the resumption of the dialogue would be preceded by a period of comprehension and appraisal.

U.S. 'Turnabout' Viewed

PM2012110588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Filatov dispatch: "PLO-United States: What Is Behind the 'Turnabout'?"]

[Text] Algiers, 19 Dec—It has already been announced that two delegations met last Friday [16 December] at the "Dar al-Diyafah" great hall, in the suburbs of the Tunisian capital, when PLO and U.S. representatives began direct, official talks for the first time. Following the 15 November proclamation of an independent Palestinian state and the powerful wave of recognition of it which swept the countries of the world, the United States could not remain aloof from this process. Thus, in the middle of last week, Secretary of State G. Shultz declared his readiness to establish direct contacts with the PLO.

U.S. Ambassador R. Pelletreau and a political counselor from the U.S. Embassy in Tunis on the one side, and Y. 'Abd Rabbuh, chief of the PLO Information Department, and three other members of the Palestinian delegation on the other, sat at two tables set approximately 1 meter apart.

The meeting took place with no definite agenda. According to the Palestinian spokesmen, "little was discussed" there, although Y. 'Abd Rabbuh did say: "The dialogue was sincere and constructive." The U.S. ambassador told journalists—incidentally, Soviet correspondents weren't invited for some reason—that the discussion "was of a practical character." We hope, he said, that this dialogue will, as it develops, help initiate talks leading to peace. As for the continuation of the contacts, in the ambassador's opinion, the next meeting should take place some time after the new U.S. president, G. Bush, has assumed his post.

PLO circles regard the very fact of direct U.S.-Palestinian contacts as a "historic turnaround" in the matter of settling the Near East conflict. Reactions to the event indicate the growing hope for a peaceful and just resolution of the Near East problem and its core cause—the Palestinian question. Only in Israel have people reacted negatively to the changed situation.

But it seems that things have gotten started. It has already been announced that the Soviet Union has offered to immediately begin preparations for an international conference on the Near East. V. Walters, U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, noted on French television last Friday that its convocation next spring should not be ruled out.

Daily Welcomes U.S.-PLO Dialogue Proposals

PM2012110988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Morning Edition pp 4-5

[Article by Konstantin Geyvandov under the rubric "Political Observer's Opinion": "Time to Make Up for What Has Been Missed"]

[Text] A unique event has just taken place in Geneva. The latest session of the UN General Assembly held its sessions there devoted to a discussion of the Palestinian question. For the first time in history the venue for the meeting was transferred to Europe because the U.S. State Department had refused an entry visa to PLO leader Y. 'Arafat. Those taking part in the forum of the international community of nations were very anxious to hear his report on the results of the Algiers session of the

Palestinean National Council [PNC] and the new ideas connected with the solution of the Palestinian problem. The existence of an urgent need for this was demonstrated by the fact that the UN General Assembly voted almost unanimously to transfer the sessions to Geneva. Only the United States and Israel voted against this, while Britain refrained from expressing its opinion.

The special importance attached to the discussion of the Palestinian question at the present General Assembly session was conditioned by two very important events. First, there is the Palestinian national uprising on the territories occupied by Israel. This uprising has entered its 2d year and attests to their desire to achieve the implementation of their national rights. Second, there are the decisions of the PNC's November extraordinary session in Algiers, at which the creation of the independent Palestinian state was proclaimed. In my opinion the latter act closed the section of the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict prior to the June 1967 war. As for an all-embracing settlement, the Palestinians expressed their readiness to take part in an international conference on the Near East, whose work will be based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, in addition to the principle of the consideration of the legitimate national and political rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination.

The denunciation of all forms of terrorism, including state terrorism, enshrined in the political declaration of the PNC's Algiers session was a principled one. According to King Husayn of Jordan, back in June of this year the U.S. State Department sent him a written memorandum which indicated that when it is officially stated that the PLO accepts Resolutions 242 and 338 and is prepared to conduct peace talks with Israel and renounce terrorism, the United States will agree to the PLO being invited to take part in an international conference on the Near East. That is why King Husayn considered the decisions made in Algiers to be a contribution by the Palestinians which opens the way to advancing to a fair and all-embracing settlement of the crisis.

Here, it seems to me, the reader should have at least two natural questions. The first is how did the United States and Israel, whose relations are defined by a strategic alliance and which represent the other side of the Arab-Israeli conflict, respond to this positive development? As has been noted, the U.S. State Department found the most simple means of replying—it refused Y. 'Arafat an entry visa to New York to take part in the work of the UN General Assembly. At the same time, the Pentagon resumed deliveries of the notorious cluster bombs to Israel. And on the day of the anniversary of the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories, at the decision of the Israeli Government, a new armed attack was undertaken deep inside Lebanese territory and including Palestinian refugee camps.

And the second question, which stems from the first, is how to explain this, to put it mildly, unconstructive stance on the part of the United States and Israel. Back in 1985, a book by U.S. journalist Wolf Blitzer, who works for Israeli newspapers, was published in New York. Even now it is eagerly publicized by the U.S. State Department, perhaps precisely for its apologia of U.S. policy with regard to Israel. The book is called "Between Washington and Jerusalem" and, on glancing through it, I encountered the following curious revelations. It turns out that one of the main reasons for the United States' unconditional support and massive aid to Israel is that the U.S. military strategists believe this state is a convenient and, most importantly, cheap tool for their political confrontation in the Near East within the framework of the "cold war."

To corroborate this thesis, comparative figures from U.S. sources are cited, from which it emerges in particular that in 1984 the United States was maintaining approximately 360,000 soldiers in Western Europe and about 135,000 in the Far East. But in the Near East the Pentagon had only 1,200 men within the Sinai peacekeeping forces. Why such a striking imbalance? Because, the author of "Between Washington and Jerusalem" replies, Israel, in the opinion of U.S. military strategists, can mobilize within 72 hours a 400,000-strong army equipped with the latest word in weapons and tested in combat operations. No less curious in the same context are the figures cited in a memorandum from Senator R. Boschwitz, attesting that in the 10 years up to 1983 the United States had paid Israel a sum in military aid totalling a little more than one-sixth of the Pentagon's expenditure on NATO military needs for just one year's budget.

Yet today it is not 1985 but already the end of 1988. You cannot fail to see that much has changed over these years, both in world politics as a whole and in the way it is reflected in individual regions gripped by conflicts and crises. Which, incidentally, is recognized in the U.S. Administration's official statements. Summing up these changes in a few words, it may be said that people everywhere have become mortally tired of the confrontation of the "cold war" and literally thirst for peace, security, and mutual support for the sake of survival and cooperation. If someone still has doubts on this score, then the worldwide grief, solidarity, and aid in connection with the tragedy in Armenia is the best confirmation. And is that not what is borne out by the approval which greeted everywhere the speech delivered by Soviet head of state M.S. Gorbachev this month at the UN General Assembly session, announcing a whole program of peace initiatives?!

PLO Executive Committee Chairman Y. 'Arafat, who spoke at the first session in Geneva, suggested creating, on the basis of the National Council of Palestine decisions, a preparatory committee for convening an international conference on the Near East and transferring the occupied Arab territories to the temporary control of the United Nations. He also confirmed the PLO's desire to achieve an all-embracing Near East settlement with the involvement of all interested sides, including Israel, in the peace process, within the framework of an international conference and on the basis of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. The importance of the moment is that the world community of nations, having heard the Palestinians' leader, almost unanimously supported these initiatives, officially registering them by their own decisions.

And the report from Washington which is being commented on everywhere today should obviously be regarded as a reflection of these sentiments in the world. It is a case of U.S. President R. Reagan's statement giving the State Department full authority to enter into contacts with and initiate dialogue with PLO representatives. The president views the start of this dialogue as an important step in the peace process in the Near East aimed at achieving an all-embracing settlement. And this same speech by R. Reagan stresses as something which goes without saying the United States' special attachment to safeguarding Israel's security and welfare.

Well, frankly, we have all long awaited such a step on the part of the U.S. administration, a step according with common sense and the spirit of the times. A state in the right direction. Now we only have to wait and see how the proclaimed intentions are turned into specific deeds. This stipulation on my part is, I think, by no means unfounded, inasmuch as each of us can remember how frequently Washington's good impulses and positive declarations regarding a Near East settlement have failed to receive practical embodiment. Nor should we discount the fact that massive pressure will now begin from the Israeli extremists and the pro-Israeli lobby connected with them to wreck or neutralize U.S.-Palestinian dialogue.

This development in events would be extremely regrettable inasmuch as right now in the international community the outlines of an integral concept for settling the Near East crisis can already be discerned. On the one hand there is a formula in international law for it, formed on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338 in addition to the safeguarding of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. On the other hand, the mechanism of an all-embracing settlement is appearing more or less clearly, and at its center will be an international conference—a universal and flexible forum which presupposes the most diverse forms of collaboration on the part of its participants.

If today we mentally cast our eyes over our planet's "hot spots," we discover that in the overwhelming majority of them a mechanism for a peaceful political settlement has been put into effect, and that in a number of places it has already made considerable headway. Only in the case of the Arab-Israeli conflict have we to this day frequently had to note with regret the opportunities which have been missed. So now is the time to make up for what has been missed.

Commentator Lauds Palestinian 'Success' at UN

PM2012122388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel A. Loparev commentary: "The Near East—A Step Closer to Peace"]

[Excerpts] Representatives of more than 150 states who gathered in the Geneva Palais des Nations on 13 December 1988 greeted Palestinian leader Yasir 'Arafat with ovations and words of welcome when he came here to address the UN General Assembly session. The very fact that the PLO Executive Committee chairman was appearing at the UN rostrum at all was a triumph for the Palestinians. It is still not the final victory, of course, for many fierce battles lie ahead. Nevertheless, in assessing the situation, one can say that this is the Palestinians' biggest success of late. [passage omitted]

It should be pointed out that the Soviet Union was the first state after the Arab countries to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, and that it has given the PLO mission in Moscow embassy status as well as offering political, diplomatic, and other assistance in the Palestinians' just struggle. Now, too, the USSR is the first permanent member of the UN Security Council to recognize the Palestinian state [pervym... priznal Palestinskoye gosudarstvo].

It would also be appropriate to recall that the Soviet Union was the one who in 1982 proposed a plan for a just and lasting settlement in the Near East, which accorded with the general norms of international law and with specific decisions made by the United Nations on this problem. Those Soviet proposals contained, among other things, the demand that all territories occupied by Israel since 1967 be returned to the Arabs and that the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the formation of their own independent state be fulfilled.

The proposals noted in particular that a truly lasting settlement can only be worked out and implemented through collective efforts, with the participation of all interested parties, which must definitely include the PLO—the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. The Soviet Union proposed that these efforts should be made within the framework of an international conference specially convened for this purpose.

In the West, the Soviet proposals have often been assessed as "propaganda" or "pro-Arab initiatives." Appraisals such as these are either a shallow interpretation of the USSR's attitude toward the Near East problem or a deliberate distortion of that attitude. The Soviet Union is not "for the Arabs" or "against Israel"—it is in favor of a fair approach to the solution of one of the most complex international problems—the Near East problem.

Not a great deal of time has passed since the conclusion of the discussion on the "Palestinian question" by the 43d UN General Assembly session. Yet even now we can confidently say that the session has supplemented the existing potential for solving the problem with the mechanism for doing so. On the basis of a majority vote, it decided to hold a representative international conference on the Near East. Quite understandably, this turn of events has prompted considerable changes in the stand taken by a whole series of countries and in the situation surrounding the Palestinian problem as a whole.

It should be pointed out that even the United States has decided to take a different view of the problem. U.S. President R. Reagan has empowered the State Department to enter into a direct dialogue with the PLO. The first meeting has already been held—in Tunis, where the PLO's headquarters is located.

A solution to the Near East problem, of which the Palestinian problem is the pivot, would make a significant contribution to the cause of peace and international security. Addressing the UN General Assembly session on the Palestinian question, V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, said that we have reached a crucial stage: Our time could become either a time of lost opportunities or the beginning of a fundamentally new, peaceful period in mankind's development.

You cannot help but agree with this idea.

PLO's 'Abbas Interviewed on Peace Process

PM1912161688 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Mahmud 'Abbas, member of the PLO Executive Committee, by IZVESTIYA correspondent M. Kozhevnikov, in Moscow under the rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "Mahmud 'Abbas: Israel in Isolation"; date not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The unprecedented transfer of the UN General Assembly session from New York to Geneva to discuss the Palestinian problem, Yasir 'Arafat's speech at the session, which everyone found memorable, and, finally, President Reagan's sensational statement on the start of direct contacts between Washington and the PLO: All the news agencies, press, radio, and television are still animatedly commenting on what has happened and engaging in various conjectures and predictions....

What led to the new turn of events in the Near East? This question was put by IZVESTIYA's correspondent to prominent Palestinian leader Mahmud 'Abbas, member of the PLO Executive Committee, who is presently in Moscow.

['Abbas] Let me note first of all that the White House decision was not so very unexpected for us. I think that in the situation that has now emerged the United States probably had no option but to agree to a dialogue with the PLO. It was largely forced to do so by external circumstances. In my view, three factors played the decisive role. First and most important is undoubtedly the intifadah, the people's uprising in the Israeli-occupied territories. This has been going on unabated for more than a year, and it is a significant new component of the Near East situation that must be reckoned with. Evidently Washington has finally realized this. The second factor is the broad international support, more powerful than ever before, for our just demands. This was manifested in particular in the recognition by many countries of the independent Palestinian state that was proclaimed at the Algiers session of the Palestine National Council (PNC). And finally, the third factor that made the U.S. Administration review its position was the flexible, realistic policy formulated at the recent PNC session, which is now being pursued by the PLO leadership.

The U.S. decision is indisputably a very important step that accords with common sense. I would like to hope that in the future Washington's Near East policy will be more balanced and will take account of the interests of all the parties involved in the conflict, and not only Israel, as is presently the case. Incidentally, in light of recent events, Israel is finding itself virtually totally isolated. In my view the U.S. Administraiton should now put pressure on Tel Aviv. On the other hand, much will depend on how the acute domestic political crisis in Israel ends, and what forces prevail there.

[Kozhevnikov] What should be done, in your view, to develop the positive changes that have begun to take shape for the cause of a Near East settlement?

['Abbas] I am absolutely sure that a more favorable situation than ever before has now arisen for preparing and holding an authoritative international conference on the Near East. Only at such a conference is it possible to radically resolve all the urgent problems, first and foremost the Palestinian problem, so that our long-suffering people can at last secure their legitimate national rights. An international conference is the only realistic way to peace in the Near East. We highly value the efforts being undertaken to convene such a conference by the Soviet Union, with which we are linked by long-standing and durable bonds of friendship and cooperation. The idea of an international conference is meeting with a positive response in the West European countries. So it us up to the United States and Israel. Will they make use of this unique opportunity to untie the Near East knot? Are they really committed to ensuring that peace prevails in the Near East? These questions must be answered in the near future.

As for us Palestinians, we sincerely want peace, a just and lasting peace.

Analyst Urges Israel To Respond to PLO

LD2012151688 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov:

The Palestine Liberation Organisation is reaping the fruit of its policy of wisdom and realism set out in the decisions of the Palestine National Council in Algiers and in the statements of Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation Yasir 'Arafat made in Geneva. The aim of this policy, as is known, is to resolve at last one of the most serious regional conflicts that had developed in a most sensitive area of the globe, to ensure for all states of the Middle East equal opportunities to freedom and national independence in conditions of durable peace and security.

The world community hails the appearance in its family of another full-fledged member, the state of Palestine, and links with this event the heightened hopes for an early achievement of a fair and comprehensive settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The PLO is prepared for talks with Israel in the framework of an international conference on the Middle East on the basis of the known United Nations resolutions. An essential dialogue between representatives of the PLO and of the USA has at last been started in the framework of the peace process. Austria has become the first country to have a diplomatic mission of the new Palestinian state. And it is only Israel for whom a unique opportunity to reassess its approach has opened that still refuses to abandon the ossified and pointless positions.

This is indicated by Tel Aviv's clearly extremist reaction to all these events. This is also confirmed by the platform on which the arrangement to form a coalition government in Israel has just been achieved. This platform is, specifically, based on the refusal from talks with the PLO and on the construction of eight new Israeli settlements in occupied Arab territories. A serious change in Israel's stand on a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict can hardly be expected also for the reason that those who favour the "iron fist" with regard to the population of the occupied territories will continue holding key posts in Israel.

This stand of the Israeli leadership meets with growing condemnation in the world. Gareth Evans, minister for foreign affairs of Australia which is situated far from the Middle East says that from the Australian Government's viewpoint the PLO has covered a long enough road to expect Israel's constructive and positive reaction. He said he hoped that the Israeli Government would share the view that it is now more risky to keep apart from the process of the ensurance of peace, than to participate in it vigorously. The foreign ministers of Spain, Greece and France decided to pool the efforts to urge Israel to consent to the convocation and holding of an international peace conference on the Middle East. The three countries will be acting on behalf of all members of the European Economic Community.

The prospect for the establishment of peace and calm in the Middle East is now closer than ever. It is very important not to lose precious time at this stage, not to let slip a rare opportunity.

Israeli Spokesman Cited on Mideast Developments

PM1912151488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent D. Velikiy report: "The World Community Says 'Yes'": "Consultations on Convening an International Conference on the Near East"]

[Text] Cairo—UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar has stated that in accordance with a decision of the majority of UN members, consultations are to begin with the aim of convening an international conference on the Near East.

It is hard to overestimate the significance of this news, which quite clearly heralds the appearance of fundamentally new opportunities to slacken the noose of violence that grips the region by the throat. This is, in fact, what politicians and observers, government spokesmen, reporters, and news agencies are saying. Their hundreds of opinions are diverse enough, but all of them were undoubtedly prompted by the constructive decisions of the PNC [Palestine National Council] in Algiers and the speech by Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. The U.S. Administration has, for the first time in 13 years, agreed to talks with the PLO.

"It seems that the ice has broken," King Husayn of Jordan said at Cairo airport, where he was stopping over. He expressed the hope that in the near future we will witness the positive development of the peace process in the region.

The opinion of Egyptian President H. Mubarak, who spoke with him on this question, amounts to this: that an international conference is the best condition for such a turn of events.... "The Israelis need peace, the Arabs need peace," the Egyptian president noted. "But those who have been robbed of their lands should have them back. They should have their own state. And I think that peace and stability are impossible without this."

At the same time, as H. Mubarak stated, Shamir does not want progress.... In accordance with what has become a deep-seated tradition over the last couple of years, Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir has adopted a virtually uncompromising position on this matter, while Foreign Minister S. Peres' position is a fraction softer. As a result Israel, has not moved any closer to the positive, while Israel has no intention, as has been stated, of having dealings with the PLO....

Many people note a certain awkwardness in the situation that has arisen between the allies—the United States and Israel. Indeed, people are even talking about a possible cooling of their relations. Be that as it may, U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering, in an explanation he gave to the Israeli foreign minister, deemed it necessary to emphasize that the process of returning the occupied territories will be slow and that it will be broken up into several stages, which will include a transitional period, and so on, so that both sides can gradually grow accustomed to the major changes that have to take place to bring about a final, peaceful settlement.

However, even these explanations were unsuccessful, and once again the train of the Near East settlement, after overcoming a political obstruction that had existed for many years, is still receiving red signals from the Israeli Administration—the outgoing administration, incidentally. A government has yet to be formed in Israel. Perhaps this process has been so long drawn out because of the important developments on the Palestinian question. I put this question and others to Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman Dr A. Li'el over the telephone.

In principle, the situation is uncertain, I was told from Jerusalem, and those who are trying to form a government have 10 days left, by law, in which to reach a final decision.

[Velikiy] How are things moving now in light of the turn of events outside Israel?

My interlocutor's reply amounted to saying that if you take that view of the question, perhaps it will come down to a coalition again, because at a time like this the highly responsible nature of the decisions required of Israel implies broad multiparty participation in them. It is also interesting that, on the one hand, the PNC decision at the Algiers session and Y. 'Arafat's speech in Geneva caused great alarm in Israel and thereby prompted the emergence of a certain sense of unity among the Israelis. On on the other hand, these polarized the political parties still further.

[Velikiy] What is Israel's attitude toward the PLO now?

[Li'el] Some 80 percent of Israelis do not want a dialogue with it.

[Velikiy] How did you arrive at that number?

[Li'el] There was no public opinion poll. It is easier to talk about the politicians. Twenty members of the Knesset (parliament) advocate dialogue with the PLO. Some people set conditions for this possibility, but the majority are opposed....

[Velikiy] What can you say about the talks between representatives of the U.S. Administration and the PLO leadership?

[Li'el] According to our information, they will last several weeks, and we will, of course, carefully monitor them, as well as the level of terrorism in the territories....

I went on to ask whom Israel considers to be terrorists. "Those who are arrested for terrorism and who admit they are connected with the PLO," came the reply.

It must be said that I have seen people who have been arrested in Israel, many of them in hospitals. And Israeli lawyers have told me about the "value of a confession" given by those arrested. These confessions are often obtained under torture.

I also managed to telephone the occupied territories, where communications are sometimes interrupted for long periods. The situation is continuing to grow more complex. In 1 day, four Palestinians had been shot and dozens wounded. In many regions and camps a curfew has been imposed. The repressions are becoming harsher, but the intifadah (the Palestinian people's uprising) is taking to the streets with still greater determination....

There will be no quick peace, Perez de Cuellar believes. The Palestinian-U.S. dialogue, although it marks the start of a very important process, does not, of course, resolve the problem; it is no use being too optimistic, the head of the United Nations noted soberly.

On the same day, the REUTER news agency, citing a Palestinian source, reported that the Israelis may be going to carry out a surprise terrorist act against the PLO, which is taking a step toward peace....

Censored Bovin Afghanistan Item Carried in Full

PM2012122988 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 51, 17-23 Dec 88 (Signed to Press 15 Dec 88) p 6

[A. Bovin "Letter to the Editorial Office": "Semi-Glasnost," followed by the "full text" of his contribution to an "International Panorama" television program; passages within slantlines are published in smaller typeface which, according to an accompanying footnote, "highlights the text cut from the 'International Panorama' broadcast without the author's consent"]

[Text] I have more than once happened to read and hear how it is customary to cut from television broadcasts material which for some reason or other does not suit the bosses. Unfortunately, as a rule this is the most interesting, honest, and pointed material.

They attempted to apply this procedure to me for the first time in April 1984. They gave the "command" to throw out part of my contribution to an "International Panorama" program. I then preferred to withdraw the entire broadcast. My obstinacy was punished: I did not appear on television for a year.

The time of glasnost has arrived, but, evidently, not for everyone. On 11 December a series of pieces on Afghanistan, which were very significant, was cut from "International Panorama" without my agreement. My comrades justified this decision by referring to the necessity for a carefully weighed approach to such a delicate question—a question which is, indeed, extremely delicate. But it is precisely for this reason that every falsehood, innuendo, and concealment from the Soviet people of the unpleasant and bitter truth is immoral.

Proceeding from the premise that your publication pays particular attention to arguments and facts, I would be extremely grateful if you would publish the full text of my ideas.

Thanking you in advance,

A. Bovin

"In November I spent 2 weeks in Afghanistan. I flew to Herat and Mazar-e Sharif. I was in Hayraton. I talked with the Republic's president and prime minister, and with ministers, generals, governors, and academics.

"My general impression was of a very difficult and critical situation.

"The withdrawal of Soviet troops is not being accompanied by an increase in the country's stability. Rather the reverse. Armed opposition is being stepped up. The irreconcilables are rejecting the very possibility of compromise and coalition, which leaves little room for the policy of national reconciliation.

/"The matter is complicated by the fact that the struggle within the PDPA and its leadership and the clash of diverse groupings are continuing. Moreover, it is not so much political positions as the personal ambitions, the sympathies and antipathies of particular figures that are in conflict. All this cannot fail to have an impact on the PDPA's prestige.

/"The combat capability of the Republic's Armed Forces leaves a lot to be desired. People evade military service, and instances of desertion are frequent. There are not enough cadres possessing modern combat equipment.

/"One more difficult question. The protracted presence of the huge detachment of our advisers in all spheres and at all levels—including the Armed Forces—has meant that our Afghan friends started to find it difficult to make independent decisions, to act independently, and to count on their own forces. And now this is having a particular effect.

/"I got the impression that many of those with whom I spoke do not really believe, and do not want to believe, that the Soviet soldiers will depart.

/"By the way, I believe that they should leave—leave at all costs.

/"There is still time before 15 February—very little, but there is some.

/"As far as I remember, our government decided to use this time in order to intensify as much as possible the political efforts and the talks in all possible directions./

"At the beginning of December, as you know, Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister and ambassador in Kabul, met in Saudi Arabia with Professor Rabbani, leader of the Peshawar 'Seven.' The talks will be continued.

"Evidently, talks with the Pakistani leadership too lie ahead. It is difficult to believe that Benazir Bhutto will noticeably change Islamabad's attitude toward the Afghan question. She still has too little freedom. But it can be hoped, and I would like to hope, that Pakistan will adopt a more considered policy and attitude toward the Geneva agreements.

"Agreements with the 'field commanders' operating on Afghan territory could have great significance. Both we and the Afghans are holding talks with them.

"In general, everything possible is being done to ease the creation of a coalition government, to ensure a relatively smooth, relatively painless evolution and transformation of the regime. But the process has been neglected. And political therapy is not omnipotent.

"One way or another, things are coming to a head.

/"This is what I think: We all—the party and the people—need a stern, hard man-to-man talk about the lessons of Afghanistan. We need the truth. I would like to hear the opinions and assessments of the main figures—high-ranking party officials, the military, diplomats.

/"In the past—I mean in the conflict with Yugoslavia in 1948, the 1956 events in Hungary, and the troops sent into Czechoslovakia in 1968—we were too lenient with ourselves. Nowadays, in the years of restructuring, we cannot permit this. The mistakes for which we are paying in blood, the prestige of the party and socialism, and the people's money, must not be repeated."/

Current Situation in Afghanistan Detailed

PM1912113188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Special correspondent Ye. Bay "Letter from Kabul": "Hope for Peace. Afghan Public Welcomes Soviet Proposal for Cease-fire From 1 January"]

[Text] For about 1 month now Kabul has not been the target of massive bombardment. Its residents, accustomed to waking at dawn to the sound of sinister rumbling explosions, have heaved a sigh of relief. But the anxious expectation—what will happen tomorrow?—is still with them. Almost every day the local radio reports more explosions in the transportation system and the assassination of Afghan servicemen in different parts of the country. Kabul itself is surrounded by major insurgent forces, and their attempts to blockade the Afghan capital have caused disruptions in supplies of food, primarily bread, to the population. A curfew is in effect in the city after 2200.

The center of Kabul looks as lively as ever. Trade is booming in dozens of shops located along the city's main thoroughfares. Compared with the summer months, however, a new feature can be noticed in the Afghan capital's appearance. There are larger numbers of armored personnel carriers, tanks, and military all-terrain vehicles in the streets. The walls of barracks housing military subunits are reinforced with sandbags in the event of renewed shelling.

The Soviet troops will soon depart, and Kabul is preparing to defend itself.

"All our units will be withdrawn from Afghanistan by 15 February in strict compliance with the Geneva agreements. This is certain [odnoznachno]," I was told by Lieutenant General B.V. Gromov, commander of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops. "The military situation? It remains extremely tense. According to our information, up to 40 enemy radio transmitters operate around Kabul every day and they, as a rule, accompany missile launchers. Yes, the intensity of the bombardment of the city has declined and we perceive this as a direct result of combat operations conducted by us. The armed opposition and its protectors tried to accuse us of having supposedly violated the Geneva accords by delivering operational-tactical missiles to Afghanistan. But that was a countermeasure. Since Pakistan stepped up its interference, we could not have failed to consider the defense of our garrisons, airfields, and peaceful cities. Long-range missiles are targeted only on arms dumps and the 'diehard' bases located along the border with Pakistan. By destroying these dumps and bases we are saving the lives of residents in Kabul and other centers in the republic which were to have suffered the effects of renewed deadly downpours."

A curious detail: Real fighting has burst out among groupings of the opposition itself in the provinces from which Soviet troops withdrew at the end of the summer. BAKHTAR reported a few days ago that battles between the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" and the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" paralyzed traffic along the highway linking Kabul and Ghazni. Infighting between supporters of G. Hikmatyar and Y. Khalis has also flared up in other provinces in the country, like Samangan and Vardak. Was it all that long ago that the "diehards" called for joint struggle against the "infidels"? Now they are killing in turn the governors of territories of "liberated Afghanistan" who have been appointed by competing parties. As for the bombastic statement by the opposition about the upcoming capture of major centers in the country like Jalalabad and Qandahar, it remains nothing but words: The garrisons of government forces deployed there are resolutely repulsing the insurgents.

The background of the contradictory military panorama is in graphic contrast with the Soviet leadership's latest proposals aimed at a political settlement of the conflict. What was Kabul's attitude toward them?

M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly was published in full by the country's main newspapers and was broadcast on radio and television. Many of those with whom I have been able to talk recently perceive the Soviet leadership's statement primarily as confirmation that our troops will depart the country in compliance with the Geneva agreements.

Various viewpoints are expressed. Let the Russians get out, some people say, now we can sort things out between ourselves. True enough, other voices can also be heard. Some Afghans believe that the presence of Soviet troops has protected the population from pillage and all sorts of settling of scores between the "diehards."

These fears are far from groundless, and the Land of the Soviets is doing everything possible to prevent a wave of violence. By appealing for Afghanistan's immediate demilitarization and the cessation of combat operations and of arms deliveries to all opposing sides as of 1 January, the Soviet Union wants to ensure that peace and stability dawn on Afghanistan from the moment the remaining units are withdrawn.

"The proposals put forward by M.S. Gorbachev have again demonstrated the Soviet Union's interest in a fair solution to the Afghan conflict," Nabi Amani, chief of the Afghan Foreign Ministry Press Center, declared, expressing the opinion of the country's leadership. "As regards the idea of Afghanistan's neutrality and demilitarization, it has already been put forward by the Afghan side. It is also well known that our country is interested in convening an international conference on Afghanistan under UN auspices.

"In the context of a political solution, the talks which have now started between high-ranking Soviet diplomats and representatives of the armed opposition are the only way which could lead to a peaceful solution of the Afghan question," Nabi Amani went on. "We reject the mujahidin propaganda theses that the start of the talks was a victory for the opposition forces. The government perceives the establishment of contacts as a fruit of the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan and of restructuring in the Soviet Union. It is well known that the 'Alliance of Seven' has not made a single constructive proposal during the last few years, while President Najibullah has repeatedly declared the Afghan authorities' readiness to have direct meetings with representatives of the Afghan opposition."

I had a lengthy conversation with Hamid Rokh, chief editor of the government newspaper HEYWAD, about the essence of the political solution to the conflict.

"The talks have certainly galvanized the central authorities existing in the country," he said, "and mapped out guidelines along the path toward achieving mutual understanding. But we cannot forecast the results of this movement. I can perfectly well imagine a qualitatively different situation developing in the country following the withdrawal of Soviet forces; old alliances might start to collapse and new ones to emerge. A certain diffusion of power will take place, and its consequences are totally unknown. The foreign policy factor will also play a major role. The establishment of the status of a neutral state like Austria or Switzerland in Europe, and the convening of an international conference on Afghanistan, will mean that Soviet troops will never again return to Afghanistan on any pretext. The United States and Afghanistan's neighbors in the region will be interested in this. But we also expect from them, for their part, noninterference and efforts to attain our country's neutrality."

Sober-minded people in Afghanistan realize that the Soviet Union's objective is to create a democratic and nationwide coalition able to ensure Afghanistan's transformation into a peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned state friendly to our country. This is indeed why they responded with such understanding to the call made at the United Nations to seek new ways into the future, relying on the accumulated experience and aware of the fundamental differences between what happened yesterday and what is taking place today.

"The Soviet leader's speech amazed me," H. Rokh said. "Projecting his statements on world problems with regard to our own country, we can say that the main point for us is to seek universal consensus in the movement toward a new society."

...Traces of the barbarous recent bombardments on housefronts in Kabul have been obliterated; trade stalls damaged by explosions have been fully restored. Tired of war and violence, the Afghans are living in the expectation and hope that this relatively quiet December will be a prelude to the end of bloodshed, rather than just a lull before a new storm.

Afghan Premier Cited on Refugee Problem

PM2012134788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Afghanistan: Prime Minister's Speech"]

[Text] Kabul, 19 Dec—Despite the difficulty of resolving the problem of the refugees' return, the Afghan Government is convinced that the steps it has taken should lead to positive results, Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq stated at a session of the Consultative Commission on Refugee Affairs held here.

This is in many respects being facilitated by the commission's work to create the needed conditions for the return home of Afghan refugees' families, for providing them with work, temporarily releasing them from military service, and giving them the necessary aid.

The Afghan Government, M.H. Sharq continued, is devoting great efforts to enlisting international assistance with a view to resolving the problem of the refugees' return as soon as possible. This humanitarian aid is helping not only to remove the difficulties of repatriation but also to revive the country's war-ravaged economy. Following the signing of the Geneva accords, the question of opening a mission of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Kabul was decided upon. Five delegations from the mission have now visited various regions of the country and have compiled a list of the needed aid. Some of this program is already being implemented. The prime minister highly assessed the aid offered to Afghanistan by various countries. The Afghans, he stressed, are particularly grateful to the Soviet Union, which has offered the Republic the greatest amount of aid.

The prime minister resolutely condemned the recalcitrant oppositionists who are continuing to fan the flames of the fratricidal war and oppose the reestablishment of peace within the country. Proceeding on the principles of the national reconciliation policy, he said, Afghanistan is proposing that all parties to the conflict come to the negotiating table. An international conference on the country's demilitarization will also help establish a lasting peace in Afghanistan. The recent talks that Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador to Afghanistan, held with Afghan consent in Saudi Arabia graphically demonstrated the sincere desire of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan to establish national accord among Afghans. Only national accord, a broad coalition that matches up to the interests of all sides, and the involvement of all parties and organizations in this coalition, can end the bloodshed and establish peace in the country, M.H. Sharq said in conclusion.

Pakistani President's Inaugural Speech Noted

PM2012103188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 16 Dec 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Pakistani President's Speech"]

[Excerpts] Islamabad, 15 Dec—Newly elected Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan addressed a joint session of both chambers of parliament on Wednesday [14 December], setting forth the main thrusts of the foreign and domestic policies of the country's present leadership. He noted in particular that Pakistan is guided in international relations by the generally accepted standards and principles of the UN Charter. According to the president, the core of its foreign policy is dedication to the Nonaligned Movement and the development of ties with Muslim states. "Pakistan is opposed to economic inequality and political exploitation, and it is fighting to make the world safer and more prosperous," Ghulam Ishaq Khan said. [passage omitted]

In the president's view, his country's relations with the United States are based on similar approaches to questions of peace and stability in the region. The strengthening of these links will be one of the main aims of Pakistani foreign policy. [passage omitted]

Sub-Saharan Africa

South African Intentions in Namibia Questioned

PM2012132188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Demidov dispatch under the rubric "After the Event": "Southwest Africa: Difficult Road to Peace"]

[Excerpts] Addis Ababa, 19 Dec—Of the many roads that can be chosen in politics, in southwest Africa the road to a settlement of the conflict and to peace has at last been chosen. The protocol recently signed in Brazzaville, capital of the Congo, by Angola, Cuba, and the RSA, with U.S. mediation, which provides for the phased withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban internationalists from Angolan soil, is being hailed on the continent. [passage omitted]

However, not everything is proceeding as smoothly as we would like. The South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] is sure that in the coming months the Pretoria regime will make repeated attempts to erect new barriers to the fulfillment of UN Security Council Resolution 435 and will invent "ill-intentioned political stunts," to use the words of Kh. Khamutenya [name as transliterated], SWAPO secretary for questions of information and propaganda. He also declared in an AFP interview that Pretoria will certainly endeavor to do everything possible to manipulate events in favor of Namibian collaborationists during the so-called transition period. The facts corroborate SWAPO's cautious attitude to the apartheid regime's intentions with regard to Namibia.

To decapitate SWAPO, which marches in the vanguard of the Namibians' struggle for their motherland's freedom, and only after this give the "green light" to elections, rigging them to look democratic and in full accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435—this is precisely the direction, favorable to itself, in which Pretoria would like to channel the development of events in Namibia. The RSA rulers hope to be able to put into power the so-called internal parties which are obedient to Pretoria, and whose strings would continue to be pulled in the racist offices of power. It was no coincidence that P. Botha not so long ago expressed to the leaders of these puppets his irritation at their internecine struggles, and urged them to put aside the disagreements that exist among them and to come out against SWAPO in orderly file.

I believe that the apartheid regime has certainly not yet made its final play over the settlement of the Namibia question. The racists could well go all out to save their stake in this country rich in raw materials.

As the experience of the past 6 months has shown, it is still possible to find a way out of the impasse in the South West Africa conflict. The chief thing is that the RSA should not keep close to its chest the kind of political bombshells that could once again block this way out. Be that as it may, one thing is clear: The road to peace in the region is difficult. Much, much more has to be done to destroy all the obstacles on that route, so full of sharp curves.

Commentary Anticipates Namibian Independence

MB1912150088 Moscow to Southern Africa in Zulu 1830 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Aleksandr Volgov commentary]

[Text] Some 28 years ago, on 14 December 1960, a meeting of the United Nations passed a resolution on decolonization and independence for all nations. This resolution is almost fulfilled in Africa, following the Brazzaville protocol signed 13 December 1988, by Angola, Cuba, and South Africa, at talks on southwestern Africa mediated by the United States. When the final agreement is signed 22 December, a way will be open for an end to conflict in southwestern Africa, as South African troops will thereafter be withdrawn from Namibia and the territory given its independence.

The question of Namibian independence has been a talking point for many years, and a vast change in political thinking the world over was needed for the changes now taking place. For many years, South Africa and her allies in the West have jealously guarded their interests in Namibia and plundered the territory's gold, diamond, uranium, copper, zinc, and other minerals. Another very important reason was South Africa's use of the territory as a strategic military base and a launching pad for attacks on other independent African countries. But now, South Africa has lost its iron grip over the territory, and back home, the regime is plagued by the continuing struggle waged by the masses for freedom from apartheid, and for self-determination. The days of apartheid in South Africa are now numbered, and South Africa's western allies can no longer come out boldly in defense of the apartheid regime.

Then again, the SWAPO-led struggle for independence in Namibia cannot be brushed aside. SWAPO is recognized internationally as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. Today, SWAPO announced its intention to lay down its arms and prepare for elections. SWAPO cannot lay down the law on what the Namibian people should choose politically. They will determine this come the elections.

It has been 28 years since the UN resolution on every nation's right to freedom and independence. Since then, 17 African nations have gained independence. Today, we have hope that the last colonial power is on its last legs in Africa, and in just one generation the resolution has been fulfilled on the African Continent.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Mauritius

LD2012112688 Moscow TASS in English 0625 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Port Louis December 20 TASS—Friendly relations characterised by mutual respect were established between the Soviet Union and Mauritius immediately after the independence of Mauritius had been proclaimed, Prime Minister of Mauritius Aneerood Jugnauth said here on Monday, when he was welcoming a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet headed by Gaibnazar Pallayev, vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Direct human contact plays an important role in the development of inter-state relations," Aneerood Jugnauth said. "We are confident that the results of the official visit of the delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet will give a fresh impetus to Soviet-Mauritian cooperation in various areas. Peoples of the globe, large and small, should do everything necessary to strengthen world peace now," the prime minister said. He expressed profound condolences to the Soviet people over the devastating earthquake in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The head of the Soviet delegation conveyed greetings and best wishes to the Mauritian people on behalf of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and from the whole Soviet people. On behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the head of the Soviet delegation invited a delegation of the Legislative Assembly of Mauritius to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

On the same day the delegation met with speaker of the Mauritian Legislative Assembly Chattradhari Dabi.

Mikhail Gorbachev advanced from the United Nations rostrum a promising and substantive programme for the solution of problems facing the world community, he said. "We support the Soviet Union's initiatives in the area of nuclear disarmament, its efforts to prevent the arms race in space. Space around the earth should become a zone of cooperation rather than contradictions," he said.

Chattradhari Dabi expressed concern over tension persisting in the Indian Ocean basin, specifically over the existence of a U.S. military base on the Diego Garcia island. "We are of the opinion that an international conference on the Indian Ocean should be held in near future with the participation of all the parties concerned to turn the region into a peace zone," he said.

In this connection the speaker of the Mauritian parliament highly appraised the Delhi Declaration on the principles of nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world signed by the USSR and India in 1986 and the Soviet-Indian summit statement adopted on the results of the Soviet leader's visit to India in November 1988. The speaker of the Mauritian Legislative Assembly said that the United Nations Organization is called upon to translate into life the fundamental provisions of these documents.

The delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet left for home on Monday.

East Europe

Czechoslovak Party Plenum Sets Early Congress

PM2012114988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "In Fraternal Parties"]

[Text] Prague, 17 Dec—

Congress Date Set

A wide range of questions pertaining to the implementation of restructuring in economic and social life and the development of socialist democracy was discussed at a plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee which has ended here. Its participants backed the proposal by M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to convene the 18th CPCZ Congress a year ahead of schedule, and approved the tasks set for the precongress period. The national economic and social development problems raised in the report by L. Adamec, head of the Czechoslovak Government, were discussed in an atmosphere of criticism.

M. Jakes delivered the closing speech at the plenum. We will actively utilize the experience of the CPSU in implementing the restructuring and democratization policy and apply it with due regard for Czechoslovak conditions, he stressed. Most important now are practical actions and the consistent implementation of the set tasks. We must make a start on elaborating the fundamental documents for the upcoming congress, the socioeconomic development trends for the Ninth 5-Year Plan, and the draft of the new Party Statutes.

The plenum adopted resolutions on the questions discussed. A date for the 18th CPCZ Congress was set. The congress will open 10 May 1990.

Vedernikov Meets With Czechoslovakia's Julis

PM2012120988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Cooperation Expanding"]

[Text] On 19 December G.G. Vedernikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received K. Julis, deputy premier of the CSSR.

Questions of the development of cooperation in the sphere of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and reciprocal deliveries of the said sectors' output were discussed at the meeting.

Polish Central Committee Discusses Development

LD2012231088 Moscow TASS in English 2253 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw December 21 TASS—The Polish United Workers' Party continues to be the key political force of socialist Poland. It will not go back on socialist principles. On the contrary, it will resolutely remove all that is obsolete, will continue to implement reforms, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, said on Tuesday at the opening of the 10th plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee.

The plenary meeting is discussing the most important problems connected with Poland's development, the enhancing of the role of party organizations in the solution of those problems and the overall restructuring of the party's activities. The theses of the Politbureau of the party's Central Committee for the plenary meeting are the basis of the discussion.

Socialist rejuvenation is a truly Polish concept of an overall restructuring of all the spheres of the life of society, Jaruzelski continued. The conditions in which we are operating today are different from what they used to be. Now we rely on a solid base of our experience in the implementation of reforms and are acting in line with perestroyka in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, he said. Understanding, trust and friendship of the Soviet Communist Party ensure an extremely valuable support for our efforts.

Much has been done in Poland, and at the same time it is too little in comparison with society's expectations and actual requirements. The party's working style is changing too slowly, economic measures connected with the second stage of the economic reform were slow, and some decisions were erroneous. However, changes are evident already in the activities of the new government. The time has come for more comprehensive, dramatic changes.

The attaining of national accord reached a very important, crucial stage. This is the supreme goal which should rally all the Poles for the sake of Poland's peace and development, Jaruzelski said.

Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the party's Central Committee, made a report on behalf of the Politbureau whose theme was "party reform is a condition for the success of the strategy of rejuvenation and reforms."

Polish Communist Party 'Theses' Reported

PM2012121388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "In Fraternal Parties"]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Dec—

Theses Published

"The Reform of the Party Is a Condition of Success in the Strategy of Renewal and Reforms"—under this headline TRYBUNA LUDU publishes today the PZPR Central Committee Politburo theses for the 10th plenum of the party Central Committee which will be held 20-21 December this year.

A radical reform of the PZPR is essential, the document says. A reevaluation of the party's role in the state and the economy has now now become an essential condition of success in the creation of a new image of socialism. The coincidence and common rhythm of the processes of renewal in Poland and restructuring in the Soviet Union broaden the sweep of the reforms and make it possible to jointly seek optimum solutions.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo theses contain specific guidelines for the radical restructuring of party work in various spheres of sociopolitical and economic life.

The Politburo proposes a rationalization of staffing at the Central Committee and at PZPR voivodship committees, with a view to redeploying a proportion of party workers at local level to the forefront of party work.

Polish Parties' Anniversaries Marked in USSR

LD1412234688 Warsaw PAP in English 2249 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, Lvov, Dec. 14—Gala observances were held in Moscow and Lvov to mark the 40th anniversary of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) and the 70th anniversary of the Polish Communist Party.

During the ceremony in Moscow, vice-director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute Valeriy Zuravlev and Poland's Ambassador to the USSR Wlodzimierz Natorf recalled the origins of the Polish worker movement, the history of the Polish Communist Party, and the beginnings and the development of the Polish United Workers' Party.

A similar ceremony was held in the Lenin's museum in Lvov which also put on display Polish political posters, documents and books concerning the history of the Polish worker movement.

Hungarian Plenum Examines Party's Position

PM2012114588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "In Fraternal Parties"]

[Text] Budapest, 17 Dec—

Topical Tasks

A plenum of the MSZMP Central Committee which discussed topical domestic political questions and tasks in improving the work of the government has ended here.

A published report on the plenum states that the internal political situation in Hungary is developing on the whole in line with the course mapped out by the all-Hungarian party conference. The report also sets out the MSZMP Central Committee proposals on the discussion of the new draft constitution and the holding of elections, and defines the party's stance on the possibility of cooperation with other political movements in the interests of successful socialist building.

The MSZMP Central Committee proceeds from the fact, the report says in part, that the party is based on the representation within it of all strata of society. Consequently, proceeding from its social base, the MSZMP is in fact capable of formulating and representing the key political interests of the Hungarian people as a single party. The appropriate basis for this is provided by the party program, which is being updated on the basis of the party conference resolution, a modernization of ideology, democratization of the party's internal life, and broad public supervision of its work.

The plenum relieved M. Nemeth of his duties as MSZMP Central Committee secretary in connection with his election as chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. L. Pal was relieved of his duties as MSZMP Central Committee secretary at his own request. P. Ivanyi was elected secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

Hungarian National Assembly To Address Reforms

LD2012234788 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest December 20 TASS—A session of the Hungarian National Assembly opened here today. It is being attended by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, by other party and state leaders.

Deputies of the supreme legislative body of Hungary will analyse a draft budget for 1989 and will discuss a number of draft laws, including on amendments to the constitutions, on the citizens' right to create associations, to hold meetings and rallies, on foreign investments on Hungarian territory and so on.

Addressing the session, Miklos Nemeth, member of the Politbureau of the central committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, said that the improvement of the performance of government bodies was an indispensable part the political and economic reform which is being put into practice in Hungary.

Deputy Premier Meets East German Industrialists

PM2012103788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] In accordance with the program for a USSR-GDR exchange of industrial leaders, a group of GDR combine general directors was in our country 5 through 16 December. They visited a number of Moscow and Kiev industrial enterprises and associations.

The delegation of GDR industrial leaders was received by V.K. Gusev.

G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

CPSU Ideology Delegation Visits Romania

PM2012113788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the RCP, a delegation of CPSU party workers headed by Kh.D. Durdyyev, secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, visited Romania 12-17 December. It was acquainted with the experience of the RCP's work in providing ideological backup for the fulfillment of the country's socioeconomic development plans.

The delegation was received by C. Olteanu, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee.

West Europe

Lukyanov Talks With Cypriot Delegation Continue

Cooperation, Settlement Discussed

PM2012120188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Interparliamentary Ties"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received on 19 December in the Kremlin a delegation of the Cypriot House of Representatives (parliament) headed by its President V. Lyssaridhis.

The Cypriot parliamentarians expressed sincere sympathy regarding the tragic consequences of the devastating earthquake in Armenia and profound condolences to the victims.

A.I. Lukyanov asked them to convey to the parliament, government, and the entire Cypriot people gratitude for the sympathy and aid offered to the victims of the Armenian disaster.

The Cypriot parliamentarians were briefed on the progress of the profound transformations in all spheres of the life of Soviet society and on the practical steps to implement the radical reform of the political system. The indissoluble link between the restructuring under way in our country and the USSR's peace-loving foreign policy course, whose key dimensions were clearly formulated in M.S. Gorbachev's recent UN speech, was stressed.

The sides noted with satisfaction that the new political thinking in world affairs is helping to strengthen detente, peace, and security and helping to shape equitable and democratic international relations.

The Soviet side noted Cyprus' active participation in the Nonaligned Movement and its constructive role within the framework of the group of neutral and nonaligned states that are making a positive contribution to developing the all-European process and resolving topical problems of disarmament.

The representatives of the USSR and Cypriot supreme organs of power advocated transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of stable peace, security, and cooperation, and pointed out the consonance of the aims of the Soviet initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Belgrade in March 1988 and V. Lyssaridhis' proposal to convene a conference of the region's parliamentarians for progress toward a nuclear-free Mediterranean without foreign armed forces or bases.

The Cypriot parliamentarians talked about the current phase in a Cyprus settlement. The Soviet side confirmed its invariable support for Cyprus' independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and unity, and its principled stance in favor of a just, peaceful, and firm settlement of the Cyprus problem in the interest of all Cypriots—Greeks and Turks—and peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean.

Both sides confirmed their mutual desire to further broaden and consolidate the traditionally friendly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and Cyprus, and advocated the consistent and fruitful development of Soviet-Cypriot ties in various spheres, including ties between the two countries' parliamentarians.

Yu.N. Khristoradnov and A.E. Voss, chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers; A.S. Kishlar, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy; and M.E. Serifis, Cypriot ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

On the same day the guests had a conversation at the USSR Supreme Soviet. The substantial positive contribution from the two countries' parliamentarians to strengthening mutual understanding and broadening cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Cyprus was stressed, and the firm desire was expressed to promote the further development of the traditionally friendly Soviet-Cypriot relations in various spheres.

The delegation continued its acquaintance with the sights of Moscow. It visited the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements and looked around the A.S. Pushkin State Museum of the Arts.

Lissaridhis Interviewed on Visit

NC2012200288 Moscow in Greek to Cyprus 1800 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Interview with Vasos Lissaridhis, president of the Cyprus House of Representatives, by unidentified Moscow radio correspondent at conclusion of visit to Moscow by Lissaridhis-led parliamentary delegation; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] How would you evaluate this visit from the viewpont of strengthening relations between our two countries, and, more specifically, between the two parliaments of the Soviet Union and the Cyprus Republic?

[Lissaridhis] Relations between the two countries and between the two parliaments have always been warm and close. However, this does not mean that every visit cannot add something, even to the warmest and closest of relations. Thus, this visit was aimed at restructuring relations between the Soviet Union and the Cyprus people, and between our two parliaments. It held a special significance because of the time when this visit occurred. It is a period when world-historic developments are taking place within the Soviet Union that totally alter prospects for Soviet life. This was our view before our arrival, and it was confirmed much more strongly through our presence here. What is taking place in the Soviet Union has a catalytic effect on all of humanity.

[Correspondent] Were certain matters on Cypriot-Soviet commercial and economic relations discussed in Moscow, matters affecting the economic sector or related to the establishment of joint enterprises?

[Lissaridhis] Yes, they were discussed. I cannot say they were discussed in detail, because this has more to do with the governments and the appropriate ministries. However, they were touched on and there was confirmation of the need to proceed in this direction, particularly today with restructuring, when totally new conditions are created and new conditions of cooperation are established. This was concluded by both sides, which is why we in our capacity as a parliamentary delegation will do whatever we can upon our return to promote these matters. There is no question that the will exists. We will try to facilitate this commercial-economic cooperation.

[Correspondent] Recently there have been positive trends as a result of the prevalence of the new political thinking in international affairs. What can you say about this?

[Lissaridhis] It is no coincidence that new conditions are being created today for relations between the Warsaw countries, let us use this term, and the West European countries. The overtures are vast, both from the Council of Europe and from the European Parliament. Naturally initiatives were undertaken from this side, and there was a response. I believe that this response will, in any event, be continued because of the Soviet Union's unilateral actions to decrease the number of its troops. With respect to the Mediterranean, we are equally sensitive to these matters. In Cyprus we are even more sensitive because of the existence of the Cyprus problem, not because any foreigners want to exploit the small amount of Cyprus' natural resources, but because of its political-military importance. I believe that every proposal which contributes to a feeling of security promotes peace. As you know, our parliament has taken the initiative to convene a congress of all European parliaments, with the first issue having to do with the withdrawal of foreign fleets from the Mediterranean, and in a second stage the removal of every foreign military presence in the Mediterranean.

Perfilyev on Delegation Visit

LD2112000288 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—A Cyprus parliament delegation ended its official visit to the Soviet Union today.

The delegation, led by President of the House of Representatives Vassos Lyssarides [name as received], had been invited by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament).

Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's information directorate, told a TASS diplomatic correspondent that this visit will, in the Soviet view, give a new impetus to the development of relations between the USSR and Cyprus in various areas.

The Soviet side expressed its gratitude to people of Cyprus for the warm sympathy with which they responded to the earthquake in Armenia, which took thousands of lives.

"We cherish the friendly support and aid extended to us by Cyprus in these difficult days of ours," Perfilyev said.

The Soviet Union has always regarded the Cyprus people's desire for freedom with profound respect and solidarity.

"Now Soviet people take to heart the current tragedy of a divided Cyprus, whose seeds were planted by external forces at the dawn of Cyprus's independence," the Foreign Ministry official said.

The Soviet Union stands for a just, durable and comprehensive peace settlement of the Cyprus issue in the interests of all Cypriots, Greeks and Turks, in the interests of peace and prosperity of their common homeland—Cyprus—and security in adjacent areas of the eastern Mediterranean, Perfilyev went on.

He said the Soviet Union supports an intercommunal dialogue, now held in Cyprus under the U.N. secretary general's aegis, and favours a constructive search for mutually acceptable solutions.

"We're confident that the current growth of the U.N. peace-making role enhances the importance of collective efforts by the international community, the U.N. Security Council, and interested states in promoting the solution of external aspects of the Cyprus problem and its comprehensive settlement, that should take into account the legitimate interests of both communities of Cyprus," Perfilyev said.

Aeroflot Plane Allowed To Land in West Berlin

LD1812070588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2230 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Excerpt] West Berlin, 18 Dec (TASS)—TASS correspondent Yuriy Borisov reports: For the first time an Aeroflot plane, a transport "Il-76", has landed in West Berlin at Tegel Airport. The plane has taken on board 150 cubic meters of cargo intended for the population of Armenia that has suffered gravely from the destructive earthquake. In response to an application by the Soviet side, the competent bodies of the GDR gave permission for the plane to fly across the republic's sovereign air space. [passage omitted]

Soviet-Swiss Cooperation Commission Meets

PM2012104588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] The first session of the Soviet-Swiss Commission on Scientific-Technical and Industrial-Economic Cooperation took place 12-16 December in Moscow.

Questions of the state of and prospects for the development of Soviet-Swiss trade-economic and scientific-technical ties were discussed. Progress in fulfilling the long-term program for cooperation between the two countries was examined. The procedure for the activity of the interstate commission was ratified.

A protocol was signed on the results of the session, which reflects the results of Soviet-Swiss cooperation and carries recommendations on how to broaden it further.

Katushev Speaks on Increased Trade With Italy

LD2012235988 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, spoke highly of the results of the 16th session of Soviet-Italian Intergovernmenal Commission on Commercial and Economic cooperation that was held in Rome. Konstantin Katushev headed the Soviet delegation to the session.

Many arrangements reached earlier during the meeting in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ciriaco de Mita were specified, the minister said in an interview to a TASS correspondent. The drafting of long-term programmes for economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries will be started shortly. Measures for the widening of cooperation in production, joint enterprises, has been determined. Documents have already been signed on setting up 18 joint ventures. Some 60 projects are being analyzed, the minister said.

The session paid much attention to the quest of the ways for the widening of bilateral trade, specifically, through drawing new partners from among medium and small Italian firms that show much interest in cooperation with the USSR. 450 similar firms participate in the implementation of just one bilateral project—the construction of a pipes manufacturing plant in Volzhskiy. Altogether about one thousand such firms participate in trade with the USSR.

Export and import contracts to a sum of over 200 million roubles were signed by Soviet organisations and Italian firms during the session. Among promising areas of cooperation the minister mentioned the light industry, footwear industry, furniture manufacturing, the agri-industrial complex, power generation. Thus, the USSR Ministry of the Power Industry proposed to Ansaldo firm to set up a joint venture for the reconstruction of power stations in the USSR with the subsequent delivery of additional volumes of electricity to Italy. The USSR could also provide additional volumes of gas for Italian power stations and purchase on these funds from Italy the equipment and other goods it needs, also from medium and small firms. The Italian side agreed with this view, the minister said.

Finland Welcomes Gorbachev UN Initiative

LD2112020488 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Helsinki December 20 TASS—"The Soviet leader's address to the United Nations has attracted immense attention," Finland's Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Kalevi Sorsa said at a news conference here.

From the U.N. viewpoint, he said, the tone of the address was exceptionally positive. One could only wish that all U.N. member countries, especially permanent members of the Security Council, back the started discussion on enhancing the role of the authoritative international body.

The improved relations between the great powers and the overall improvement of the international situation, the Finnish foreign minister emphasised, considerably enhanced the possibilities of the Security Council and the U.N. on the whole in facilitating the peaceful solution of outstanding issues.

"Finland welcomes with great satisfaction this development," Sorsa said.

Karpov, Petrovskiy Meet Irish Officials

LD2112025688 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—Soviet-Irish political consultations were held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry on December 19-20. Deputy Foreign Ministers Viktor Karpov and Vladimir Petrovskiy, as well as other senior executives of the ministry, met with Padreg Murphy, deputy foreign minister of Ireland and head of the Political Department. Charles Whelan, Irish ambassador to the USSR, took part in the consultations.

Participants in the consultations analysed in detail a comprehensive approach to the strengthening of the foundation of security in the coming peaceful period in the light of new important Soviet initiatives set forth in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations on December 7. They exchanged views on a number of regional problems and on questions connected with the activisation of Soviet-Irish relations.

Latin America & Caribbean

Chilean Communist Party Announces Congress

Moscow Airs Part Nine

PY1612104688 Moscow in Spanish to Chile
2100 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Report on news conference by PCCh spokesmen to release document calling 15th PCCh Congress, held in Santiago on 6 December; for parts one and two see the 15 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT pp 24-28, and for parts three through eight please see the 20 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT pp 43-52]

[Text] Today we will continue analyzing the document's fifth point, entitled the Anti-Fascist Struggle After the Plebiscite and the Popular Rebellion Policy.

Together with our allies and the largest possible number of opposition forces and sectors, we Communists must concentrate our efforts on obtaining democratic solutions before the institutional deadline ends. This solution must diverge from the Pinochetist plans for the country and contradict the terms of the 1980 Constitution.

We must obtain democratic victories in various fields: Article 8 of the Constitution must be dropped; Chileans must fully exercise their political and social rights; the CNI [National Intelligence Center] must be dismantled; the country must enjoy a broad freedom of expression; and the arbitrary trial of journalists must end.

Neighbors' associations, mother's clubs, and other social organizations must be democratized. We Communists support all types of struggle to obtain solutions to these demands.

Most Chileans have made it clear that the tyrant is the main obstacle for the establishment of democracy in the country. This common opinion must be expressed through a vast, forceful, many-sided campaign to force Pinochet to resign. If this goal is achieved, conditions will be favorable for holding free and democratic elections, in which the peole can sovereignly express their will.

The struggle to establish, in the country, the broadest possible democracy has started. To achieve this goal, we must intensify our ideological political endoctrination of the masses and make the main goals of a democracy an active part of the people's struggle.

We Communists believe that some changes are indispensable: state and society must be thoroughly democratized. The resulting democratic nation will then draft a new constitution that will fully respect human rights and clearly defend the social and political rights of the Chilean people.

We must adopt measures to secure deep changes in the Armed Forces. The national security doctrine must be definitively eradicated. Commanders connected to the fascist regime must be replaced. Military chiefs who planned or committed crimes against the people must be dismissed from the Armed Forces. Measures that create social democratic structures and prevent the use of the Armed Forces against the people must be adopted.

The Judicial Branch must be modernized and made more democratic by removing corrupt judges.

An economic policy that really serves Chile and the Chilean people must be defined and implemented. We propose that a moratorium on the foreign debt be declared and that the debt be fairly renegotiated. The state must recover its role as promoter of economic development in favor of the majority of the people.

A drastic redistribution of income in favor of the workers, adn particularly of the poorest strate of society, must be conducted. Unemployment and the overexploitation of the people must end.

You are listening to the full text of the PCCh call for its 15th Congress, the slogan of which is: To restore and deepen democracy, the unity of the people until final victory.

We now continue reading the 5th point of this important document: It is urgent to resolutely move forward in the solution of the nutrition, health, housing, education, and social security needs of the vast popular and national sectors.

The debts of small debtors must be pardoned, putting an end to auctions and seizures. The debts of the medium and small size owners must be recalculated on fair bases. The UF's [monetary units] system must be eliminated.

We believe it is of paramount importance to reach a national commitment to guarantee full respect for human rights, indicating the suitable mechanisms and organizations that enjoy the moral recognition of the citizenry, in order to determine and reveal the truth concerning the missing detainees and all the horrible crimes committed all these years under the dictatorship, and to do justice, with commensurate compensations for the victims and for their relatives.

We must commit ourselves so that torture, banishments, and other forms of arbitrary harassment will never again occur in the country.

No to impunity is, and must be, the slogan of all Chileans.

In this regard, we, the Communists, will maintain an unyielding position of resolutely supporting the struggle of the organizations of relatives of the victims of fascist repression.

It is necessary to implement the participation of the workers and the people in the definition of and the solution to their problems, granting legal status to the representatives of their democratic organizations when they join the appropriate state and government levels.

Nearly all these issues are included in the proposals made by political parties and social organizations. We Communists have shared them with [names indistinct], with minimum democratic bases to facilitate broad understandings and joint actions.

We Communists also categorically stand for the recovery of the natural resources and strategic enterprises that the dictatorship has transferred to private interests, imperialist consortiums, or domestic groups.

We deem the nationalization of the private banking sector as fully convenient for the country's interests. We endorse the need for land reform that will eliminate the predominance of the financial oligarchy in the agricultural and livestock sector, and immediately implement measures that will guarantee that the workers and peasants, be they small or medium sized land owners, will benefit from the exploitation of the land and the forests, and from the industrialization process. The irrational exploitation of our natural resources must end, and our land and maritime flora and fauna must be preserved.

We Communists favor the continuation and development of exportations, with a gradual incorporation of value added tax at the service of the interests of the people as a whole. We ratify our support for the existence of social, private, mixed, cooperative, and self-sustained areas. We are in favor of forms of autonomy for the Mapuche and other Indian tribes that will be recognized by a new constitution, and we favor solutions to their problems regarding social and economic assistance and regarding the creation of better conditions for the preservation of their culture.

And here ends the fifth point of the document of the 15th PCCh Congress, which is being held under the slogan: To restore and deepen democracy, the unity of the people until final victory.

Moscow Airs Part Ten

PY1712123988 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] We will continue reading the full text of the PCCh's call to its 15th congress. Today we will begin reading the sixth point, entitled Basic Issues of our Policy.

The nature of our struggle will continue to be imminently democratic and anti-fascist as long as Pinochet's dictatorship and the institutional system set up by it exist and fascism is not eradicated. Taking into account the nature of class domination, which does not necessarily exist under a fascist regime, the character of the revolution that the country needs is popular, democratic, anti-imperialistic and anti-oligarchic. The full success of the democratic and anti-fascist struggle has a great revolutionary content and is essential for the achievements of further objectives.

The working class, in its most varied and current form of organization—the urban and rural non-qualified workers—is greatly affected by unemployment. The youth and student movements; the Mapuche population; women's organizations; professional associations; those who have contracted mortgages; most intellectuals; Christian communities; organizations of solidarity for prisoners and the persecuted; and organizations for defending human rights have been the main protagonists of the struggle against the dictatorship.

Because of its size, because of the role it plays as a productive force in the society, and because labor is its only asset, the labor class—in its capacity as a class—is destined to play the main role in the struggle for democracy and change.

The truth is that, during these past few years, it has played this role in an irregular manner. The labor organization did not achieve its hegemony in the great social moment of the years 1983-86, and only at certain times maintained its class independence and its rallying power and initiative. These were the peak moments of the struggle against the dictatorship.

Reformism is only a fragment of the organized democratic labor movement as a whole. We must assume our share of responsibility for this phenomenon because, to a great extent, it reflects our weakness and shortcomings.

The congress during which the Central Labor Union was created was a great event; it was the result of a unitary, difficult, and complex process which demanded from each and every one of us an active and cretive attitude to help it respond to the hopes and interests of the workers in a worthy manner.

We must propose an intense ideological struggle in the reformist sector, respecting those who think differently than we do. This is the correct way to dispute the leadership of the labor movement, to make sure that it will defend unionist and independent issues, and that the working class will always have a leading role.

As most workers and underemployed workers live in the slums, we must pay special attention to the slum problems, to their organization, and to their leadership boards. These slums have been bastions against fascism, and must continue to serve as such during our future struggles.

We Communists are and must continue to be the party dedicated to the workers and to the poor. The poor and middle class peasants are important working-class allies. We have not succeeded, however, in appropriately incorporating them in our struggle. Experience shows that the peasants joint the struggle a little after the workers do, but that they immediately move upward and start marching side by side with the workers.

There are many difficulties ahead of us, but the first thing we must do is to overcome our ignorance of the status quo of the farmer and peasants. We must make a great and swift effort to overcome this shortcoming of ours by bringing together the experience of many of our comrades and the abilities of our experts. Our party must take this task upon itself.

The Chilean youth, especially the students, have shown that they are a courageous and fighting force. Their permanent struggles have the same objectives as those of the working class, and they play a significant role in the popular and progressive movement because of their consistent positions.

The PCCh must continue to consider its youth front as one of the most vital fronts. The women have been noted for their courage in the struggle for human rights, for life, and against the culture of death [cultura de la muerte]. They have discovered new forms of organization and solidarity. The PCCh must step up its support for them and increase its concern for their problems, their struggle, their demands, and the new expressions of the feminist movement.

Our party's alliance policy must embrace all social sectors whose interests are objectively at odds with large and foreign capital. It must also embrace all organizations and people who assume progressive positions and raise the lofty banners of peace, culture, environmental protection, and man's rights.

We want to make special reference to the Christian world. Many priests, nuns, and laymen have experienced and confronted the repressive regime, some of them at the cost of their lives or inhuman and debasing treatment. The Sebastian Acevedo Movement is a moral symbol recognized and loved by the people because it represents the best virtues of the dignified and honest man. The Communists pay homage to each one of that movement's members. During these years, new Chileans have confessed their Christian sentiments in more effective ways, expressing their commitment to the theology of liberation or, in practice, to the efforts to create a society without exploitation, poverty, and repression. We must know them better in our solitary, daily democratic endeavors, and in joint participation in Christian-Marxist encounters. We have to pay more attention to that mutual understanding, because the Christian liberation movement is an important component of the struggle for progress and revolution.

Strong unitary tendencies in the struggle against the Pinochet regime have emerged and developed at the social base, which we have tried to fortify, and which at given times have made it possible to form the active majority necessary to advance in a resolute manner. Following this path, we have attained agreements and commitments for unified action, as well as partial understandings which, as in the case of the pre-plebiscite and plebiscite circumstances, have represented a contribution to the struggle of the entire opposition behind common objectives. To that effect, the importance of the PCCh in the nation's life has been decisive. The social organizations' role and influence in the system of alliances have increased. So, we have to make our best effort to maintain this unity in the struggle.

The social organizations constitute the area that offers the greatest possibilities for developing the mass struggle for democracy and for redressing the most harmful grievances. The divisive and exclusionary positions make their strongest impact at the leadership level of those organizations, but that is why those positions can be more easily defeated. Militants in those social organizations come from different parties and provinces, and from the large mass of those who do not belong to any political party. Their interests are stronger than sectarianism and anti-unity attitudes.

The social organizations constitute the people's great power, and points of convergence of the broadest democratic forces. At the grassroots of these organizations stand struggle and unity. On these organizations above all we must center our struggle for understanding among, and common action by, all the workers and the people. We must provide a more organized structure for the activities and the leadership of the social organizations from the different sectors of society at the various territorial levels.

We can speak of the emergence of a trend that we must support so that the people, organized above party lines, can march down independent roads of unity without exclusions, implementing their own policies.

Moscow Airs Part Eleven

PY1912224988 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Radio Moscow has so far aired the following points of the document that will serve as the basis for the 15th PCCh National Congress: Point One, entitled

Regional and International Situation; Point Two, entitled The Government Experience of the Popular Unity; Point Three, entitled The Restoration of Fascism and Its Counter-Revolutionary Project; Point Four, entitled The Development of the Anti-Fascist Struggle and The PCCh Policy; and Point Five, entitled The Post-Plebiscite Anti-Fascist Struggle. Today, continuing with the presentation of the document, we will complete the reading of the sixth point, entitled The Basic Issues of Our Policy.

At the level of the political parties, our position of stressing the unity of the Communists and the Socialists is invariable, as is that of seeking understanding among the constituent elements of the left. This position demands our utmost effort to overcome recent differences, or at least to emphasize agreements and deemphasize disagreements. A relatively new development, which we highly appreciate, is the fraternal relations and the agreements we have attained with the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left]. At the same time, we will continue to promote the unity of action of all democratic and progressive forces at the grassroots level, beginning with the political center and the center-right.

The United Left constitutes a democratic, anti-fascist, and popular power alternative. We are decidedly in favor of strengthening and developing the United Left, as well as authentically renewing its thinking, its programmatic formulas and objectives, its style of political activity, and its slogans, both in form and content.

In any social movement, and particularly in any social revolution, there is always a class that holds the hegemony and is determined to maintain it. Moreover, there is a political organization that assumes the role of vanguard of the leading class. In the struggle for democracy in our country, the working class must assume the hegemony, thus ensuring the continuity and deepening of the democratic process and its evolution into an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic revolution, leading to socialism.

To attain and maintain its hegemony, the working class must expand and reinforce its own organizations, firmly maintain an independent policy, reassert the struggle for its rights and demands, firmly support the aspirations of other social classes whose interests run against those of the oligarchy and imperialism, and reach with those classes a broad system of agreements and alliances. The PCCh, the party of Luis Emilio Recabarren, [name indistinct] and Pablo Neruda was born to carry out the revolution, to act as the vanguard of the working class (?in leading it) in the struggle for a more acceptable form of democracy within the framework of a capitalist system, and for the breaking of this system, thus advancing toward a socialist democracy once the working class comes to power.

We have to exert ourselves to advance the positions and to strengthen the forces of the party in every respect. The consolidation and development of a populist party ever more powerful in numbers and organization, and in ideological and political capability, are key requirements for the favorable resolution of matters related to the attainment of hegemony by the working class, and for the positive resolution of the problem of gaining the role of vanguard. The consolidation and development of such a party are just as necessary in order to defeat the divisionist and (?dependent) positions. At the same time, it is necessary to consider that there are other parties in the country that are influential in the working class, holding revolutionary positions that aim at socialism, just like the Marxist-Leninists. We should also take into account that in addition to those parties there are trends, groups, and people who quite capably assume revolutionary positions.

Under these conditions, we express our firm determination to work hand in hand with all those parties, trends, groups, and people to overcome differences and increasingly agree on forms of action. This will help in playing the vanguard role of the working class and the Chilean people. Moreover, we express our hope that in the future all of us together may constitute a single vanguard organization.

In these 15 years of dictatorship, we have gone through a hard learning process. Life has forced us to make theoretical and practical advancements in order to learn the role of violence in the solution of the great social conflicts, and in order to fill what we call a historical vacuum in our policy. We have gained important knowledge on this matter, adding to it lessons from the studies in that regard by Engels, Lenin, Marx, and other Marxist theoreticians. We have trained cadres with a degree of knowledge in military science, and these cadres have demonstrated their revolutionary determination, courage, and fortitude in violent activities. We pay a deserved homage to the comrades who fell in this struggle.

Through experience, we reached the conclusion that it is indispensable to be prepared, and to be able to resort to new capabilities in order to promote popular violence when the situation requires it. We also came to understand the need to have a military policy as part of the general and practical policy of the whole party. The evaluation of that military policy will always be subject to a concrete political situation and to the political objectives that make that policy advisable in each particulr case, strictly subordinating it, though, to the military organizations' decision.

The PCCh hailed the birth of the FPMR [Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front] and encouraged its development. Its ranks were joined by party militants and Communist Youth members. The FPMR has helped to destabilize the dictatorship and complemented the people's many-sided struggle. The self-separation of a group with a militarist mission has been a deplorable fact. That mission is left for the revolutionary parties' and the masses' determining role. The PCCh will continue to encourage the action and development of any organization that stands for the people's self-defense and contributes to their struggle.

There are flaws that call for correction in our overall and tactical concept of military training. Under the foreseeable new conditions, the political work of the party, the social organizations, and the people in general will gain great importance in order to replace with democratic ideas the fascist ideology in which the Armed Forces have been educated during these years. This work requires patience, time, and unwavering perseverance. The ideological struggle, which is always important, has increased in significance, particularly for the revolutionaries.

The most relevant aspect of the ideological struggle, which will demand our best efforts, refers to anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, which are indeed the fundamental components of the ideological struggle. Pursuing the goal of stunting the revolution, imperialism and international reaction have invested and continue to invest large resources, both in the ideological and propaganda areas, to spread anti-Communism. Millions of dollars are spent on this. The media devote pages and pages to this every day. Publicity agents and specialized centers pool their capabilities to promote campaigns and slogans. Diverse and various forms of infiltration are employed. Anti-Communist propaganda is not only extremely primitive and regressive, but is also disguised in supposedly leftist, even revolutionary, positions.

Since the birth of our party, we have gained a broad experience in anti-Communism. In a permanent climate of prejudice, myth, stereotype, distortion, and lies about the Communists, we have witnessed numerous concerted campaigns tailored to politically manipulate the Chilean people in order to create a general mood of hatred against the Communists and their ideology. In these years of dictatorship, the fascist regime has stated and practiced anti-Communism as its ideology and policy, putting its best efforts behind them. History shows that no truly popular cause has ever had anti-Communism as its foundation. On the contrary, the most anti-democratic and anti-popular causes have erected anti-Communism as their banner. Pinochet has used anti-Communism in his attempt to justify his horrible crimes, to govern for the wealthy. He himself has confessed to this.

In recent years, bourgeous democratic forces in the opposition have adopted an anti-Communist posture, thus impeding an acceptable democratic alternative and barring a broad anti-fascist understanding. There have also been elements of the left who slipped into anti-Communist attitudes, in the wrong belief that a reduction of our party's influence in the nation's affairs, amid the people, and in the left might favor their own designs. At the same time, it can be noticed that outstanding personalities, democratic sectors, and leftist forces have directed their political action to fighting anti-Communism. We highly appreciate their stance. We can differentiate the position of those who are not Communist, or those who hold differences with the Communists in one way or another, from that of those who are plainly anti-Communists. We do not feel that we are the repository of the absolute truth. We make mistakes, but we try to introduce changes and proper criticisms (?to the extent those mistakes) refer to ourselves.

We must always conduct ourselves by standards of modesty and respect toward those who do not think as we do. The advance of the democratic, anti-fascist, progressive, and revolutionary struggle is closely linked to the resolute struggle against anti-Communism, to our bonds with the masses, and to the correct manner of stating our policy. Any democrat who is consistent with his beliefs is under an obligation to denounce anti-Communism without hesitation. As far as we are concerned, we can always undertake an all-out and broad effort in all areas to fight anti-Communism, as well as to remove from our ranks anything that can be used as a pretext for anti-Communism.

Tomorrow, we will read the seventh and final point of this document, entitled The Need To Qualitatively and Quantitatively Strengthen the Party.

Moscow Airs Part Twelve

PY2012012788 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] Today we will read the final part of the PCCh call to its 15th Congress. This document provides the background for the debates of the 15th PCCh Congress. The final part, which is the 7th point, deals with the need for the qualitative and quantitative strengthening of the party.

When imperialism and the reactionary forces installed a fascist regime through a military coup, one of the objectives of this regime was to destroy the PCCh. At that time we had a large political organization of some 200,000 members plus 87,000 Communist Youth members. The PCCh was a mass political party rooted among the working class, peasants, youth, students, intellectuals, and broad sectors of professionals and other sectors of society. Our party has the historical merit of having reached the government, and of having assumed some power.

The PCCh has had some experience in underground activities, in which several thousands of its members were engaged. The party, however, had not yet had direct contact with fascism.

Fascism was installed in Chile as the only possible form of counter-revolution. Consequently, one of its main objectives was to destroy the PCCh. Many of our best members were murdered, including 17 central committee members. We were not ready to confront such barbaric action. We did not expect such a situation. We will continue to be a legal party, but we will never forget this lesson. One cannot have total confidence in the institutions and in the law while power remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie and of imperialism. We should always be ready for any circumstance.

Our party has now has a new change of reaching the masses with its policy. We must promote the initiatives that lead us in this direction, finding the best methods, recovering our members, recruiting new members, establishing unconditioned membership using house-to-house campaigns, lectures, meeting, letters, and leaflets. We must take new steps to legalize the party.

Our party organization should be appropriate for our policy of rebellion of the masses, so that it may properly echo the ideological and political initiatives that may appear, so that it may have an accurate picture of the situation, and so that it may select, with tactical ability, appropriate methods of struggle.

If we consider the possibility that the forces of the people can once again assume power through elections, we should understand that we must have material resources to confront any reactionary attempt to revert the democratic progress.

This condition involves organizational complexities that we must solve, using our experience, in a much stricter way, with boldness and with due consideration for party security.

The fascist coup prevented the holding of the 15th National PCCh Congress, which was to have been held in 1973. Despite the difficulties, the fact that the party has held no congress in 19 years is abnormal. A national conference, which to some extent was a congress, was held in 1984. This conference played a significant role in the implementation of the party policy and in the election of a new central committee. However, this was not enough. Thousands of new members are not thoroughly aware of the principle of democratic centralism, which is an essential tenet of the Leninist theory of the party.

The exercise of this principle involves the broadest and most democratic debate, by all party members, over the policy of the party and over the election of party leaders before the congress.

The principle of democratic centralism sets forth that once a decision is made by a majority, such decisions become mandatory for all members. This is the origin of a party single policy and a single action.

We must promote the exercise of internal democracy, even under the most difficult conditions, in order to promote initiative and creativity in all party members. Consequently, it is necessary to create the conditions that will allow the party to hold a congress or a conference, no matter the circumstances.

We need a strong, highly qualified party which can predict the most probable course of events in the future, a party that should have deep roots among the working class, peasants, youth and students, and among the poorer neighborhoods, intellectuals, artists, professionals, ethnical minorities, the owners of small- and medium-size businesses, and the Armed Forces.

We need a party with an active and creative rank-and-file, which should be actively engaged with the masses and which should be deeply aware of the problems which the masses have to confront. The rank-and-file organizations should be able to solve these problems in cooperation with the masses and with other movements and parties. The main effort for improving the party from a qualitative and a quantitative viewpoint should be made by rank-and-file oganizations.

We should meet the great challenge posed by the ideological struggle against anti-Communism. We should improve our propaganda capacity, seeking the best ways to let the masses hear our voice.

Throughout these years of underground life, the party has been financed mainly with the contributions from Chilean exiles, and by campaigns organized by each one of our fellow party members in more than 40 countries. We are deeply grateful for this contribution, which will continue for an undefinable period.

It is essential to rebuild the party financial sources throughout the country. More financial resources are necessary to meet the new challenges. We must take measures that will allow us to take a significant step forward. Annual financial campaigns must be regularly and properly undertaken. In this regard, we must make use of the party experience, taking into account that self-financing is a Leninist condition.

It is therefore necessary to improve our work with the help of party supporters, in order to regularly collect the contributions at the level of rank-and-file organizations.

All Communist Party members should pay their contributions before the 15th Congress.

In view of the fact that thousands of Communists and their families have been sent into exile, many of them will remain abroad for some time. We deeply appreciate what they have done in support of the struggle being waged in Chile. The party should see how to maintain the best relations with them and how to organize them.

The political and managerial reforms in our country, and the changes in the productive sector, have emphasized the pressing need to readjust our organization in order to remain in permanent contact with the masses and to undertake large-scale work with the public.

The project for the amendment of the party statutes has taken into account this circumstance. Our party should operate increasingly closer to its followers, with the essential principle of accompanying the masses with their problems and aspirations.

The growing importance of the youth sector is obvious. The Communist youth have undergone considerable growth, and their possibilities for playing a role within the Chilean youth are everyday stronger. The party should increase its support to the Communist youth, and all areas.

Our party is the party of the working class. We must persevere to strengthen our party within the working class. Our doors are also open to the men and women who want to struggle for the noble ideals that inspire us.

Our party also upholds the aspirations of the people who are suffering the cosequences of social injustice, people whose aspirations have been delayed and human rights violated. This is why our party is becoming stronger among the people living in poor districts, among the peasants, and among the Mapuche Indians and other ethnic minorities.

Communists have a great interest in contacting other levels of the population, such as the small- and medium-size industrialists, businessmen, transporters, craftsmen, and people working in cooperatives.

We are a party profoundly interested in the humanities. We are interested in the development of culture, science, and art. We advocate freedom for artistic creation and scientific research. We also advocate peace, and we are concerned about ecological problems. We are alert to scientific and technical progress, and we are ready to make them part of our way of life.

A very important issue is the party cadre at all party levels. The leadership ability of the cadre is becoming more relevant every day, and that ability depends on political, ideological, and cultural development. This is why education, individual effort, and the permanent operation of schools at cadre levels are so important. Nowadays Communists must be able to understand the complexities of social life and the progress of science and technology.

We must establish a program for the development of the many aspects of the intermeidate cadre organizations, with a well-aimed policy and a struggle against routine methods of looking at things, against bureaucracy and conservatism. The essential qualities that are needed are boldness, initiative, spirit for collective work, honesty, dedication, and revolutionary integrity. We must value and develop these principles in the party. Our party has already been implementing for some time its own policy of changes and improving its theories, policies, styles, methods, and the organization of its cadres.

In any case, it is necessary to learn about the profound changes taking place in the socialist world, not to make changes in a mechanical manner, but to establish our own ways of moving ahead with the times, and of studying and overcoming our mistakes in order to determine our prospects for development. The determining factors in this changing process are the men who are conducting the party's policies.

The 15th National Party Congress should become a powerful incentive for the contribution of Communists to the struggle of the people to put an end to fascism and to win democracy.

Radio Broadcasting Agreement With Venezuela

PA1912144988 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Venezuelan Foreign Minister German Nava Carrillo and USSR Ambassador to Venezuela Vladimir Goncharenko have signed a complementary accord to the radio broadcasting agreement signed on 18 December 1975 at the Venezuelan Foreign Ministry. The Venezuelan National Radio and USSR Voz Teleradio—Radio Moscow—will be the organizations in charge of implementing the accord. The accord includes an exchange of material, such as programs on history, culture, folklore, ecology, and science, and information related to the visits made by delegations from both countries. In addition, there will also be an exchange of professionals and specialists who work in the [word indistinct] and production of radio programs.

Foreign Minister Nava Carrillo highlighted the importance of the agreement and stated that in past years, Venezuelan-USSR relations have increased not only in the cultural field but also in the economic, commercial, and political fields. The foreign minister noted that in the political sphere we agree on different aspects of international problems. Having similar points of view on certain issues has helped our relations develop, and at present our relations are excellent.

Political & Social

Kirghiz Earthquake Causes Damage; No Casualties

LD2112142888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1402 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Frunze, 21 Dec (TASS)—At 1121 Moscow time today there was an earthquake south of Kirghiziya with a force of 6 points at the epicenter. As reported by the Institute of Seismology of the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences the focus of the subterranean storm was on the southwest slope of the Fergana range, near the settlement of Shamaldy-Say.

According to preliminary reports, buildings in the settlement have been damaged. There are no casualties. The earthquake also manifested itself in the towns of Tash-Kumyr, Uch-Kurgan (Uzbek SSR) with a force of 5 points; Dzhalal-abad, Karakul 4, Osh—3.5 points. Structures were not damaged.

The seismic station 'Tashkent' registered an underground tremor with a force of up to 2 points in the capital of Uzbekistan. The force of soil oscillations was up to 5 points in Namangan; in Fergana - about 4 points. There are no casualties or destruction.

Ryzhkov Interviewed in Yerevan Before Departure

LD2012201088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Interview with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission for earthquake relief in Armenia by correspondent Tikhomirov "before their departure from Yerevan"—recorded]

[Text] [Tikhomirov] Nikolay Ivanovich, what are your feelings as you depart? Have the mechanisms, a structure, as you put it, capable of dealing with this task of clearing up the disaster in the time appointed been established?

[Ryzhkov] We have been here 12 days. Of course, the situation was extremely complicated to begin with, difficult, catastrophic, even. Now, too, it continues to be very complicated. The first stage is coming to a close, taking the idea of the first stage as the completion of rescue work. I think that a few more days will be required for this. The main thing is that in this time we have created a certain management structure, which makes it possible both to carry out the work at this stage and also makes it possible to provide for preparation for the next stage, that is, the stage of restoration, the stage of construction, when normal life has to begin. Of course, we have been on the spot until such a system has been created; it is a special one, operating in extreme conditions. Today, now that such a structure has been created and we feel that all the services are working, this mechanism has really started working, we reckon that we can depart. The Politburo commission will continue to operate, and I think that after the New Year we shall return and see how everything is operating. Comrade Batalin is staying here now.

[N.N. Slyunkov] A no less complex problem today is that of work with people. We have to instill calm into people, confidence about life, and reestablish normal life. To this end a great deal of work will have to be done by the Party Central Committee, the Armenian Communist Party, all Communists, and all public organizations. The work with people, the human factor, alongside with the factor of restoring the national economy, is of prime importance today.

[Tikhomirov] When Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was in Shushenskoye, giving an interview to central television, he said that many people have not yet mastered the modern flexible style of work—not because they do not want to, but because they are unable to. How often have (?you) come across this here?

[Ryzhkov] We come across this all the time. But I must say that the overwhelming majority of the leaders who were here, both from the republic and the great many people who came in from Moscow, the overwhelming majority quickly got to grips with the new methods of work, and I must say that if at the beginning they were even confused to a certain extent, now they are conducting the work quite solidly and confidently; although the extremes that have come about here have separated out those leaders who proved to be incapable. That is, those leaders who always cover themselves more with words and phrases, with speaking in general, were shown up here as if by x-ray. They were not capable of providing leadership and we simply had to get rid of some. So that... well, on the whole, I reckon that the leaders stood up to this trial, and we are now confident that they are capable of working here.

[Tikhomirov] We... well, you were correct to criticize us today for getting carried away showing looters, because the cases are isolated, but we showed it twice on Vremya, and I would like to say now that we have a group working in Leninakan in order to do a report on how people are handing in gold and money brought out of the rubble literally by the sackful.

[Ryzhkov] I think that this self-criticism of yours is absolutely right. Unfortunately we have seen very few broadcasts, but we were informed that a very great deal of attention was given over to looting twice on television. I think... well, one cannot generalize, make generalizations about such negative phenomena. As always, there is some foam on every wave. But these are isolated cases, isolated incidents, 10 or 20, maybe, but on the whole there is heroic work there. We have already been there many times, we have seen what is being done there. People are finding valuables there and handing them in, worth R50,000 or more, or just a few rubles. People are taking it all and handing it in. We have already taken a lot of money out of there, we have taken out a lot of valuables. So, of course, what we are talking about today, I would like to say that this should not cast any shadow on the Armenian people. And it is not just the Armenian people working there; today there are 20,000 people working in Leninakan alone, brought in from other parts of the Soviet Union. We have 30,000 servicemen working here at the moment. And so, to a certain extent this has cast a shadow on everything.

[Tikhomirov] All the same, it seems to me that the situation is such that here, in the earthquake zone, there should be no zones closed to glasnost as was the case at one time, say, with Aeroflot, when we were told that criticism of Aeroflot is counterproductive, since it impedes, as it were, that organization's international contacts.

[Ryzhkov] We are of the opinion that glasnost is needed everywhere and that there can be no closed zones of any kind, and you have noticed that we did not forbid anyone to come to the commission's daily sittings, lasting 2 hours, from 0900 to 1100. Correspondents, journalists, and television people attended. We did all this very openly and, after all, the exchanges were at times unpleasant; but in this situation it is impermissible to make reassuring noises at each other and we would not have achieved anything, either. That is why the fact that there was criticism was justified; the main thing is that it should be justified criticism.

You remember how we criticized Aeroflot when equipment deliveries were disrupted for 12 hours. It was worth its weight in gold here, during the first few days. Well, we criticized it very vigorously and even with extraordinary sharpness. But subsequently, yesterday, when we again listened to what Aeroflot had to say and when we saw what it had done over these days, we rehabilitated it and actually expressed gratitude for this enormous work it had carried out. That is why I think that at present, too, it is necessary to show everything; it is necessary that there should be no closed zones. It is only that a certain degree of even-handedness ought to apply here, especially when national questions are, in fact, touched upon—people here are very liable to be deeply affected and this has been exacerbated precisely at present, at a time when calamity has struck.

[Slyunkov] All in all, it is not possible, without critical analysis, to improve further the organization of work. Especially since how could one have done without critical analysis in these complex and extreme conditions in which one had to work, to organize and set up a system of organization of work?

[Tikhomirov] And I observed the extent to which the situation was analyzed with such tenacity, so to speak, when with Nikolay Ivanovich you visited localities where it frequently did seem as though the situation was out of control.

[Slyunkov] Well, to say that it was out of control and that there arose in us some doubts that it was impossible to get on top of the situation—we had no such moments.

[Ryzhkov] Difficult hours!

[Slyunkov] But during such difficult hours, when one had to face situations in which opportunities for solving problems had been lost, during the course of tackling these problems, when it was fraught with possible further and serious consequences, we did of course adopt resolute measures, we did make demands, we were insistent—because good organization can only be ensured by a high degree of responsibility, by one's knowledge of the work at hand and by a singleminded sense of purpose. So, it was not easy.

[Tikhomirov] At today's conference it was mentioned that 8 million tonnes of broken brick, debris, and so on must be transported out. Who is to do this? To do this 800,000 journeys will have to be made by tipper trucks. What is your view: Is it possible to do all this during the condensed timeframe that has been set here?

[S.G. Arutyunyan] Well, this problem is, of course, very complicated, extraordinarily complicated. And today Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov said that additional resources must be brought into play, isn't that so, Nikolay Ivanovich?

[Ryzhkov] Railway transportation.

[Slyunkov] It is necessary to search for new approaches once again.

[Arutyunyan] They must be brought into play in this work, since if we only make use of motor vehicle transportation, we will not transport this debris even in half a year. That is why a large volume of work is ahead, of course.

[Tikhomirov] [words indistinct] Will you now allow yourself some rest in Moscow?

[Ryzhkov] There will be no rest for me. Well, one will, all the same, have to deal with part of this problem every day, but it is also necessary to involve oneself in other work, because they are very many problems. We intend to come here after the New Year.

Politburo Commission's Postquake Efforts Continue

Leaders Consider Rebuilding

PM1812194188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission: Reviving the Cities and Villages"]

[Text] The hands of a clock on one of the devastated streets of Leninakan had stopped at 1141. Exactly 10 days have passed since the moment the elements unleashed their blind force on the city and its inhabitants. The dogged struggle to rescue people and restore the city has continued for 10 days without an hour's reprieve. A routine working conference of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission on 17 December noted that the first and most acute stage in that struggle is drawing to a close. Preparations are in hand to repair the housing stock and revive the plants, factories, and agro-industrial complex enterprises.

The conference also discussed the great and comprehensive preparatory work connected with implementing the USSR Council of Ministers proposals approved by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on large-scale aid to the population of the Armenian SSR which has suffered from the earthquake. Matters must be organized locally in such a way that not a single person in distress, either adult or child, is forgotten and that the material support is fully perceived by people as an act of the social justice inherent in our system.

The first workers' cafeteria has been opened in Leninakan. Labor collectives employed on repair and organization work are being re-formed at enterprises. A new consignment of heated railcars has arrived—it has been decided that some of them will be given to the medics who will have to stay in the city over winter to tend to construction workers.

V.P. Trushin, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, reported that in addition to maintaining public order and controlling the extremely intensive movement of equipment in the affected regions, MVD personnel and the contingent of internal troops are also actively participating in rescue and repair work. On the whole the situation in the earthquake regions is calm. However, even at this most difficult hour for Armenia and the whole country representatives of the "Karabakh" committee are continuing with their provocative trouble making. In VUZ's and other institutions "committee members" are conducting inflammatory discussions and distributing leaflets calling for demonstrations and strikes. A number of the committee's ringleaders have been arrested and criminal proceedings have been instituted against them for inciting national hatred and dissension, spreading deliberately false information defaming the Soviet state system, and also organizing and participating in group actions in breach of public order.

Meteorologists warn that sleet and wind are expected in the next 2 days. Apart from everything else, this means that the evacuation of children, women, and old people from the disaster zone should be accelerated. In the past 24 hours alone 9,862 people have been evacuated from the area.. More than 24,000 earthquake victims have already been placed in rest homes and sanatoriums. Children are leaving increasingly often not by classes but by whole schools along with teachers and parents. Studies in those schools will resume immediately on arrival. AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev reported that yesterday the first groups of evacuees were sent to CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs sanatoriums—in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee's recent special resolution, in addition to other forms of aid being given, thousands of places for the victims of the Armenian earthquake have been allocated in these sanatoriums.

The agroprom staffs in the worst-hit villages in northern rayons of the republic are also working to ensure that the cold weather does not catch people unawares, as Ye.I. Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom and a USSR minister, reported. In the past 48 hours alone 2,000 jackets, 550 yurts, 50,000 food packs, and 20,000 hot meals have been distributed. Workers of the Yerevan machine repair plant worked throughout last night without rest to fulfill their urgent order to produce 200 iron stoves for heating the tents and yurts erected in villages. That is in addition to the 2,500 stoves already sent to country people by soldiers.

At the working conference the Armenian SSR Ministry of Health was instructed to examine and submit within the next few days proposals on the creation of a center for the rehabilitation of invalids seriously injured by the earthquake. The commission's operational decisions included the organization of round-the-clock unloading of freightcars and a number of other measures fixing a strenuous pace of work in the disaster zone.

To rescue people, give them warmth and food, and restore their faith that together with their country they can overcome the calamity—this is the essence of the activity of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission, the working headquarters at local level, and all now working to remove the after-effects of the earthquake.

A conference chaired by N.I. Ryzhkov was held in Yerevan on the same day and was dedicated to the pooling of efforts and the contribution of union ministries and departments to reviving the socioeconomic potential of the region affected by the disaster.

The conference participants spoke about the need for the active involvement of those regions' working people in social production—initially in rebuilding shops and plants and afterward in using them long-term. Union ministries and departments which have enterprises in the disaster zone are expected to play a key role in this. They have been instructed to make the utmost use of their own reserves and potential and focus their attention and efforts on enabling the affected plants, factories, and associations to begin producing output as soon as possible and to promote the stabilization of the social situation in the region.

This task is of national significance. While helping to restore the economy of a union republic hit by a natural disaster, the country's national economy must at the same time increase the production of output so as to compensate for the losses at enterprises destroyed by the earthquake.

At the same time it is necessary not just to completely rebuild those enterprises but also to radically modernize them. It is necessary to increase the capacity and standard of production using the most progressive techniques, which means achieving a qualitatively new standard of output.

It was noted that in striving for the goals set it is necessary to rely as much as possible on existing and newly created labor collectives. The priority of developing the social sphere of the rebuilt enterprises was stressed. Representatives of ministries and departments, many of whom have been in the disaster zone for a number of days now, reported that all the reserves of their sectors and also the increased potential which the radical economic reform gives them will be used in the work of restoring Armenia's economic potential.

The conference was addressed by the following leaders of a number of USSR ministries and departments: B.M. Belousov (Ministry of Machine Building), M.S. Shkabardnya (Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems), N.S. Konarev (Ministry of Railways), N.A. Panichev (Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry), V.G. Kolesnikov (Ministry of the Electronics Industry), E.K. Pervyshin (Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry), N.M. Olshanskiy (Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers), V.M. Lukyanenko (Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building), Yu.A. Bespalov (Ministry of the Chemical Industry), Ye.A. Varnachev (Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building), N.V. Lemayev (Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry), A.D. Budyka (Ministry of Grain Products), O.G. Anfimov (Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry), V.G. Klyuyev (Ministry of Light Industry), I.A. Mayorets (Ministry of Power and Electrification), V.A. Kurochkin (Ministry of the Radio Industry), Yu.A. Guskov (Ministry of the Timber Industry), V.D. Danilenko (Gosagroprom), Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan.

N.I. Ryzhkov summed up the results of the discussion.

Taking part in the work of the conference were N.N. Slyunkov and S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Commission Meets 20 Dec

LD2012211688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1832 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 20 Dec (TASS)—A good half of the male population here saw off two passenger trains leaving Kirovakan for Anapa and Yevpatoriya with children, women, and old people on board. The evacuation from a city hit by an earthquake was thereby brought to an end. Railway workers and trade union activists, Komsomol detachments and teachers, members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission, sanatorium workers in different parts of the country—the efforts of hundreds of thousands of people joined together and were increased in order that those who had lived through this great catastrophe said with at least some relief: We are not worried about the children. In the remaining towns and villages in the earthquake zone the evacuation is coming to an end. In general the children have already left Spitak and Leninakan. In the villages teachers are gathering groups of schoolchildren and are assembling them into classes, in order to dispatch the last train carrying children to the sanatoriums in the south.

And coming toward them from the other direction is a stream of goods for stricken Armenia. As was noted today at a CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission session, the rhythm of arrival here of heavy equipment and of trains carrying detachments from GOSSTROY and the agro-industrial committees has become more precise. All of the GOSSNAB warehouses in the republic have gone over to round-the-clock work. They are distributing the food and clothing for stricken people and materials and equipment for reconstruction work which is arriving from all over the country and from abroad. Permanent medical establishments are starting up in rural areas.

It is planned to restore the towns and villages destroyed by the elements in just 2 years. The front for future construction work is being prepared at full speed. The commission session heard reports on clearance of rubble, the removal of concrete debris from the towns, and the problems of burying or possibly reusing it. With the help of military specialists, sanitation and public health measures at affected rural livestock units and farmyards have been virtually completed.

There has been substantial progress in speeding up the handling of freight. In all, about 29,000 wagons have arrived in Armenia by rail, 8,000 trucks have arrived by road, and almost 30,000 tonnes of freight has been delivered by air. The first integrated detachments of volunteers with equipment are laying out a construction base in the villages. Thus, forces are being assembled for the next assault, for the second, massive and long-term attack on the aftermath of the earthquake—for new construction and for the restoration of the considerable social and economic potential of the region.

Yet another figure was given at the morning working conference. Over 500 small children separated from their relatives by the earthquake have been found in the past few days by their parents or relations. Both happiness and grief are interwoven in this news.

Concluding the conference, N.I. Ryzhkov dwelt on the primary tasks of the new stage of the work and also reported that today he and commission members N.N. Slyunkov and D.T. Yazov were leaving for Moscow but that Yu. P. Batalin and L.A. Voronin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers and members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission, will remain in Yerevan for the further coordination of actions to eliminate the aftermath of the earthquake and give aid to the victims.

Ryzhkov Meets Culture Workers

LD2012234088 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 20 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, members of the Commission of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, had a meeting with representatives of creative workers' unions, with prominent cultural workers of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic in Yerevan today.

Greeting Armenian cultural workers, Nikolay Ryzhkov said that members of the commission of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee received with satisfaction the proposal to hold this meeting with people who represent authoritative circles of Armenia's intelligentsia and know its attitudes and interests.

Topical questions of the republic's socio-political life, the role and responsibility of the intelligentsia in the implementation of revolutionary perestroyka, democratisation and improvement of interethnic relations were the subject of an open and principled exchange of opinions at the meeting held in a warm, informal atmosphere.

On behalf of all cultural workers taking part in the conversation, poetess Silvia Kaputikyan addressed moving words of gratitude to the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the Soviet Government for great care for the Armenian people hit by the earthquake tragedy. Silvia Kaputikyan spoke with concern about the fact that the Armenian people need as never before the restoration of the inner peace, the overcoming of negative phenomena that hamper the speeding up of socialist renewal.

[Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 21 Dec, Second Edition, p 3, in a similar report adds: "These and other questions perturbing the republic's public were also touched on in the statements made by R.K. Oganesyan, chairman of the board of the Armenian Writers Union, People's Artist of the Armenian SSR S.Kh. Israelyan, chairman of the board of the Armenian Cinematographers Union, People's Artist of the USSR E.M. Mirzoyan, chairman of the board of the Armenian Composers Union, A.G. Grigoryan, chairman of the board of the Armenian Architects Union, People's Artist of the USSR Kh.B. Abramyan, chairman of the board of the Armenian Theatrical Workers Union, and journalist Z.G. Balayan."]

Nikolay Ryzhkov spoke highly of the courage and viability of the Armenian people which were manifested strikingly at the hour of grim trial and of the sincere feeling of gratitude for disinterested relief aid from all the union republics which members of the commission of the CPSU CC Politburo witnessed more than once during meetings in the disaster area and in Yerevan. At the same time he assessed in a principled way the adventurists who jointly with corrupt and hooligan elements hamper the effort to overcome the aftermaths of the natural disaster even when the resources of the people are taxed to the utmost, try to sow ethnic strife, provoke illegal actions and, in the long run, undermine the spiritual health of the nation.

The elements that oppose perestroyka made the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh the cover for their destructive activity. This problem should not be equated with the activity of irresponsible politicians who are out to get power. As it was noted at Mikhail Gorbachev's recent meeting with a group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet from the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, this problem can be resolved on the roads of a compromise, of rapprochement between the stands of the sides on an internationalist basis.

The members of the Politburo Commission noted at the meeting that the creative intelligentsia, if it wishes vigorously to promote the processes of renewal, democratisation, should assume a principled stand and rebuff all who encroach on unity of the Armenian people and all peoples of the Soviet Union, on humanism of relations among people, on perestroyka.

More on 17 Dec Activities

LD1712234188 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service at 1800 GMT on 17 December in its "Vremya" newscast carries two reports on the activities of Nikolay Ryzhkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers chairman, and Nikolay Slyunkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, in Armenia.

The first report is a 2-minute video report on the Politburo commission dealing with the earthquake aftermath's regular meeting. Ryzhkov, Slyunkov and a number of unidentified speakers are discussing getting people back to work. Among a number of unidentified speakers and indistinct passages, Ryzhkov says:

"You know, I'll tell you something. At 1100 on Saturday when we are going to meet, each minister will report when he will restore his works. We shall either agree or not agree, and so on. But I am convinced that as soon as they start getting on with their work, they will take your people, not only the workers who used to work for them in their works, but also those who are unoccupied today. They will take them on for restoration work. So they will quickly get taken on by enterprises. You need to take on these people for social needs, for the town. Do you understand? Today for clearing up, tomorrow preparing technical documentations, to make foundations, to put up houses, to repair some houses, to demolish others. That's to say this has to be started today, to get into an organized way of acting. Until we do that we won't get anything done. You could live for 5 days, a week, 10 days as we were living, but today it must be quite different."

The second report is a 3-minute video report on a tea held at the Yerevan conservatory with Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Albert Likhanov, chairman of the All-Union Lenin Children's Fund, and children who have lost their parents in the disaster. After talking to the children about teachers who helped save children during the earthquake, the topic turns to the evacuation of children and an unidentified speaker is heard to say: "Whole schools are preparing to leave. In Kirovakan they are preparing to leave, all the schools at once, completely with the whole staff, teachers, and all classes. And the parents too, of course, the ones who think it is essential for them to go with their children."

Ryzhkov says: "There were five trains today. Five trains. Three trains going from Kirovakan and two from Leninakan. Five trains. Complete evacuation is taking place, there are very many children, very many, so it is good that they are now (?leaving)."

More on 18 Dec Activities

LD1912000688 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service at 1800 GMT on 18 December in its "Vremya" newscast carries a 6-minute video report by political observer Aleksandr Tikhomirov on the activities of Nikolay Ryzhkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers chairman, and Nikolay Slyunkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, in Armenia.

The report begins with Tikhomirov saying "At the regular morning meeting of the Politburo commission, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov today remarked that in situations as extreme as this it immediately becomes clear who is worth what. In the past few days we have met a multitude of leaders, and a proportion of them, even of the party leaders, were demoralized and not capable of making a right decision. But others are now coming to the fore."

Video shows Ryzhkov and Slyunkov in a crowd. A number of people in the crowd are trying to praise the Spitak Rayon First Secretary Muraydan. Ryzhkov responds: "He's a good man, he's working well. And the Central Committee secretary's working here. We said today that we now need to concentrate our efforts on the 12 sites in order to get the dead who remain out of there and then we need to start to clean up the town, to take away the rubbish, to make it ready for construction, to do the preparation for construction. Plans are now being drawn up, the architects are working."

After people in the crowd express their support for Muraydan, Ryzhkov says: "We're building houses and the families will be returning gradually. As soon as the houses appear, the families will be coming back. Until there are houses, the men will be living here alone. Well, all the best, comrades, goodbye."

Video cuts to a ruined bakery in Spitak where Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, and Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, are seen talking with a group of about 20 men. Ryzhkov is asking an unidentified man how quickly they expect to get the remaining corpses exhumed.

[Ryzhkov] "How much time do you need to get the people out of there? Have you made an estimate?

[Unidentified man] "It is a difficult question Nikolay Ivanovich. Well, about, probably 20 days.

[Ryzhkov] "Oh, oh, oh."

Ryzhkov shakes his head as he says the last remark. An unidentified general appears on screen in the front of the group; Yazov is seen standing next to him.

[Ryzhkov] "Twenty days is no good.

[Unidentified general] "It's no good.

[Ryzhkov] "We can't take 20 days.

[Unidentified general] "Our report says in 5-6 days.

[Ryzhkov] "I'll ask you, comrade general, to get everything finished here in 5 days.

[Unidentified general] "We will.

[Ryzhkov] "Bring in what equipment you need. The first thing is that we have to get the people out of here, and then we'll think about how to demolish it, how to take it away.

[Unidentified general] "There are tank tractors here, and obstacle-clearing equipment. In 5 or 6 days we'll finish it."

More on 19 Dec Activities

LD2012101488 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 19 December carries a 4-minute video report on the activities of Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Armenia.

The report is presented by political observer Aleksandr Tikhomirov over footage of rainy streets with Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, and Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, visiting enterprises and talking to the crowds.

As the leaders are seen emerging from an unidentified building an elderly woman is seen shaking his hand.

Ryzhkov says: "Today we decided to look around the city because although we have been here for almost 2 weeks we have seen nothing in these parts. Yesterday we went to the disaster zone."

Arutyunyan interrupts: "On the 7th of the month, as soon as I had reported to Nikolay Ivanovich about the situation, the very next morning, they flew out late that night and on the morning of the 8th they were already here."

Ryzhkov continues: "We realized that there had been a great tragedy here and all the country's forces had to be mobilized, so we left that night. I rang Mikhail Sergeyevich in New York and told him I was leaving that night. He said: Go on, you leave. I will see [words indistinct]."

A woman bystander says: "People, all Armenians, are very satisfied."

Ryzhkov: "We will have to mobilize the resources of the whole country to transfer things here, because the Army alone cannot cope with this tragedy. We have set ourselves the task of completing rebuilding in 2 years. On Saturday we invited all the ministers, 18 in all, and schedules are now being compiled for each works. On Saturday we will examine them and sign a document. Parallel to this, we will be rebuilding enterprises and, of course, rebuilding the towns. We already have the layout for two towns, Leninakan and Kirovakan. On Thursday, they will begin to look at how to set them out, and the settlements and so on. But as for Spitak, unfortunately, the difficulties there are great."

An unidentified speaker says: "I have agreed with our comrades that as soon as the layouts, the general appearance of the towns and so on are ready, we have asked for the layouts to be shown not only on television but directly in the newspapers, and please do take part. Every day I say categorically, that under no circumstances should we leave barrack towns, or monotonous towns behind."

Second unidentified speaker: "It is stressed at every meeting that what is really [words indistinct] should be built."

Ryzhkov says: "I say that they should be Armenian towns. On the whole, you must take part in this work to ensure that they are truly fine towns."

Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, and Arutyunyan then visit a shoe section in a big store. Ryzhkov exchanges a few indistinct words with a girl shop assistant and with an unidentified official.

Arutyunyan asks the official: "Does it ever happen that you [words indistinct]?"

Official: "No, hardly at all."

Slyunkov: "Do you have shortages of footwear for adolescents, for older people?"

Official: (?If we do not sell) the rest is fully [words indistinct]."

Ryzhkov: "And women's boots."

Official: "Here it's much (?better)."

Ryzhkov: "I know that the footwear situation in the center is much worse."

This is followed by an brief indistinct interchange between Ryzhkov and Arutyunyan.

Ryzhkov addresses a second official: "Let me now ask you."

Second official: "Go ahead, whatever you like, [words indistinct]."

Arutyunyan: "Nikolay Ivanovich, there is always footwear here."

Ryzhkov: "Always?"

Arutyunyan and second official: "Always."

Ryzhkov, addressing shop assistant: "Is it always so good in here?"

Shop assistant: "Yes."

Ryzhkov: "Are you sure?"

Shop assistant: "Yes."

Second official: "We have winter and summer shoes. We have cooperative-made boots."

Ryzhkov: "Do cooperatives supply you?"

Second official: "Of course. Look, these are cooperative boots. They cost R105."

Ryzhkov: "R105?"

Second official: "There are various types. Here are some more cooperative boots. They are a little expensive but..."

Ryzhkov interrupts: "Do the cooperatives give large [word indistinct]?"

Second official: "No, 20, 30, or 50."

Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, and Arutyunyan then visit a food shop where they look at the shelves. They are greeted by a group of people thanking them profusely.

Woman in group: "You have done so much for our people."

Ryzhkov answers: "I keep saying that I have got to know not only the disaster, but also the Armenian people over these days."

Woman: "Most important, we sense your warmth, your responsiveness, objectivity, efficiency. We are most grateful to our leaders."

Expert Says Tremors Show Earthquake 'Waning'

LD2012232688 Moscow TASS in English 2107 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Snegovskiy:

Earth tremours continue on the territory of Armenia which was hit by the devastating earthquake on December 7. Prominent Soviet seismologist, Academician Nikolay Laverov, told the TASS correspondent that a large number of slight earth tremours are monitored every day. There are also several stronger shocks, with force 4-6 points on the 12-point scale adopted in the USSR. For instance four shocks of force 4.5-5.5 points were registered on December 19.

"These phenomena show that huge energy accumulated in the faults of the earth's crust is discharged through relatively slight tremours," the academician said. "This confirms scientists' opinion that the earthquake is waning." The academician said that geological events in the disaster area are monitored by seismologists who arrived from Moscow, the Ukraine, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, various cities of the USSR. A network of seismic stations has been set up around the seismic focus. Another network of station was formed in the Yerevan area. A group of French specialists from the European Seismological Centre based in Strasbourg works in the quake's epicentre zone jointly with Soviet specialists. Japanese specialists arrived in Yerevan on December 19. A large group of American seismologists arrives on December 20. They will bring along additional instruments and equipment. Laverov said that establishing a large international collective in a matter of a week and organizing its work is without precedent in international practice. Several commissions of scientists started functioning. They issue recommendations on matters of construction in Leninakan, Spitak, Kirovakan.

Rumours are now spread in Armenia that large-scale devastation was caused not so much by the earthquake as by explosions of enterprises, chemical plants or military facilities in the disaster area. "These rumours have absolutely no ground", said Nikolay Laverov. "The earthquake followed a classical pattern. No other reasons can explain the devastation. This is confirmed also by large ruptures in the Earth's crust that have linear direction and by major fissures. The bend of rails such as is not observed under any explosions should also be noted."

Academician Laverov is of the opinion that the USSR should advance the initiative for the creation of international bodies and forces of reacting to catastrophic situations similar to those in Armenia. "A similar situation can happen any day in the territories of other countries", he said. "A Soviet and an international systems of prompt reacting to disasters should be formed, the more so that the United Nations organisation intends to proclaim 1990-2000 the decade for protection against major natural and technogenic catastrophes."

Efforts Made To Stabilize Armenian 'Daily Life'

Planning Stressed in Leninakan

PM2112113588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Dispatch by special correspondents S. Bablumyan, F. Ivanov, and S. Taranov: "Ravaged City Lives On"]

[Excerpts] Leninakan—The weather has become sharply colder in Leninakan, as it has throughout Armenia. The fields along the road to the city are covered in hoarfrost, and there is already snow on the mountainsides. Winter is adding to the concerns of both those who have come here to carry out relief work and the people of Leninakan themselves. [passage omitted]

"Of course, it is now very important to organize daily life as far as possible," V. Artsruni, deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, says. "There are no longer any problems with tents, the first freight cars with prefabricated houses have arrived, and erection of them has now begun. A few mobile bathhouses are in operation. Within a short time we must restore the heat supply to the surviving houses—for it is now very cold, and most boilerhouses in Leninakan were destroyed. But we have been sent complete boilerhouse modules from Siberia, and these are being installed in literally 24 hours—this freight should be the first priority in unloading. Unfortunately, as yet there is a shortage of gas cylinders. We have 1,400 cylinders, which we are distributing to individual houses, but this is clearly not enough."

There is no question: It is very important to organize daily life in the ravaged city. But people's main concerns are still primarily connected with clearing the debris. Over 30,000 people, 300 cranes, and a great number of dump trucks are now working on this. Nevertheless, there is a shortage of equipment. All the sidings at Leninakan railroad station are packed with freight cars, and trains are continuing to arrive. The city is choked with them! All spare manpower is now being devoted to unloading. Each day people come here from Yerevan and other cities and work day and night...

Unfortunately, not all leaders of enterprises sending equipment to Armenia yet realize exactly what sort is needed now. In order to dismantle the debris cranes with a capacity of at least 16 tonnes are needed. In order to perform this extremely difficult work within a short time, at least 1,200 such machines are needed...

The commission now operating in Leninakan has calculated that 967 buildings have been destroyed in the city. Some of them are not to be restored and will be blown up as soon as the last body is recovered from the ruins. But the fate of many buildings is as yet unknown. A special commission has to decide whether it is worth reinforcing them or whether they should be demolished. This work is led by E. Tosunyan, chief engineer of the "Yerevanstroy" construction and installation production association.

"For several days now groups of specialists have been traveling round the city and inspecting the damaged buildings," Edvard Nersesovich told us. "We have now determined about 300 buildings that can be occupied after preliminary reinforcement and cosmetic repairs. We have given each building an external and internal inspection and determined the quality of construction and its conformity with the plan. We authorize occupation only if we are convinced that the building is absolutely safe. Detailed findings on possible use will be drawn up for all, I repeat, all, buildings in Leninakan and the people living or working in the building will naturally be informed of the findings. We are now often having to check the state of buildings at the request of residents who want to return to their apartments. We never turn down such a request. We realize that tents are not the best accommodation in winter..." [passage omitted]

As we were completing these notes, we were constantly having to answer the telephone. People were asking: Is it true that N.I. Ryzhkov is returning to Moscow today? "Yes," we replied. In response we heard only one thing: Please convey our cordial thanks to Nikolay Ivanovich. Even better, write in the paper that every Armenian family has come to regard him as a member of the family [Rodnoy Chelovek]. We will never forget the great assistance that the country has given us and is continuing to give us.

Services Partly Restored

PM2012115588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[Report by special correspondents M. Buzhkevich and A. Sarkisyan under the rubric "Our Pain and Tragedy": "Time Does Not Wait"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It was not difficult to find the "leadership headquarters" [in Leninakan]. It is housed in the still-intact children's picture gallery building in the city's "Kumayri" reserve zone.

In a distant office we caught the end of an operational conference. The service leaders dispersed to their sections, while we remained for a few minutes with Yu. Semenov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Fuel and Energy Complex. He presented the current situation in the city laconically and in great detail:

"The electricity supply to the city's districts is practically 80 percent restored. Whereas before the earthquake the city was consuming 1,600 liters of water a second, now, with the startup of the water main, we are supplying 700 liters a second. Not that there is, in principle, anyone to consume such a quantity. Preparatory work is being carried out to restore the heat supply. It has been decided to set up 15 mobile boilerhouses received from Tyumen. Four are ready to operate right away, two more have been received, and the rest are on their way. Of the 60 city boilerhouses, 29 are fit to operate. The fuels and lubricants depot is functioning. Two hospitals, a blood transfusion center, a bakery, a meat combine, and a communications center are working. A 5,000-number automatic telephone exchange has been commissioned. It is possible to make connections directly with Yerevan, Moscow, and Leningrad and, via the republic capital, with other cities in the country. Some 40 canteens have been inspected, and 10 of them are operating. Life in the city is stabilizing..." [passage omitted]

Bureaucracy Hampers Relief

PM2012100988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Dec 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 6

[Dispatch by S. Bablumyan, F. Ivanov, and S. Taranov: "Ensuring That Everything Gets Through to People. Our Special Correspondents Report From Armenia"]

[Excerpts] Yerevan's "Zvartnots" Airport is working round the clock. The operational staffs there are also working round the clock: One meets people who are arriving to provide assistance, the other accepts the aid pouring in from all over the country and the world and decides where to send it. [passage omitted]

"Do you now have enough of everything that people are waiting for in the disaster regions?" we asked Yu. Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers and head of the second staff.

"I can't complain. We have and are continuing to receive everything we need. Newspapers have already repeatedly reported on who is sending what to the republic, so I won't go over old ground. But there is something else that I believe it is essential to mention. Even today you hear it said that much of what is being sent to Armenia today is not reaching its destination. It is claimed that medicines that are in short supply, valuable medical equipment, and other valuable items are falling by the wayside. Rubbish, nonsense! What grounds are there for such certainty? If only because most aircraft fly direct to Yerevan from abroad. There is nowhere where they could 'lose' freight. We have received and continue to receive everything sent to Armenia down to the last gram and kopek. I state that with the utmost responsibility."

Indeed, Armenia is today receiving a huge quantity of extremely necessary items. But the paradox is this: Over the last 10 days we have visited many disaster-stricken cities and villages, have seen the people left homeless, and have talked with them. And every time we have asked: Do you have enough of everything that is being unloaded at Yerevan's airfields and at railroad stations and trucked into the republic's capital—is it reaching you?

It is a question of things that people cannot do without at this cold time of year: tents, warm clothing and footwear, provisions.

Usually what we have heard is: All this is arriving only after a considerable delay. Why?

In order to investigate the situation, we went with A. Sarkisyan, a member of the republican government commission, to one of the republican ministry of trade's trade bases—the "Armtorgodezhda" warehouses.

"Yes," Base Director G. Khachatryan confirmed, "our buildings can be said to be 'bursting at the seams'—they're having to accommodate so much stuff from abroad." "What kind of stuff?" we asked. "Back on Saturday 17 December we could only guess that it was clothing, underwear, and maybe footwear. But without orders 'from above' we didn't dare go along and open the crates of freight that had begun to accumulate back on 12 December. You may ask: Why? Controllers were making our lives a misery. There was no end to the visits we had during this period: staffers of the Department for Combating Embezzlement of Socialist Property, prosecutor's office and people's control personnel, local soviet leaders, representatives of the public... As a result we wasted time that was badly needed in order to sort and grade according to description and size all this stuff that ought really to be in the disaster zone, not in the warehouses."

Our interlocutor is right: To this day warm clothing, medicines, and tents are stuck in departmental storehouses... In order to get things moving, an interdepartmental operations group for the distribution of aid has now been set up—it is beginning to allocate everything necessary on the basis of requests from local level. But once the parcels have reached their destination—what happens then? In Leninakan, for instance, they used the following very sensible method: They began to distribute industrial goods and food to people at their former workplace: at plants, factories, and institutions. An important point to which Leninakan party gorkom First Secretary M. Mkrtchyan drew our attention is that people will start work any day now. We are on the point of commissioning the hosiery factory, the bakery, and some shops of the textile combine. And it is very important that people go to their enterprises right now and gather as a collective. The decision to use workplaces as the site for distribution of everything that people need was made partially in the light of this fact. [passage omitted]

Military Patrol Described

PM1912122388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel O. Falichev article: "Night Patrol"]

[Text] Night had fallen on Leninakan by the time we arrived at the headquarters of the Internal Troops unit commanded by Lieutenant Colonel V. Martinovich. It was also the starting point for the rounds by the military patrol headed by Senior Lieutenant V. Savenko.

We were on our way. Street lighting has not been restored everywhere. The blue reflections of the flashing light installed on the vehicle made everything around us look even more unnatural—the obstructions, the collapsed buildings, the heaps of rubble.... The soldiers comprising the patrol group—Private Rudik Avdalyan, Sergeant Ivan Dunayev, Private Andrey Kolpakov—also had a generally unusual appearance. They were all wearing helmets and bulletproof vests, with weapons in their hands.... Unfortunately, none of this is superfluous.

Here are just a few extracts from the operations report.

1912. A military detail comprising Privates Overov, Mazur, Bushmakin, Chesnokov, and Romanov prevented the looting of two stores. A sum of R30,000 and a hand grenade were confiscated....

2012. A military detail comprising Sr Lt Savenko, Senior Sergeant Trokhimchik, and Privates Sorko and Kovalev prevented the looting of a wine store. Fifteen cases of cognac were returned to the store....

0012. A military detail comprising Sergeant Vorobyev and Privates Trokhimchik and Yakubov prevented the theft of property from a food store. They detained two embezzlers of socialist property and discovered and handed in a sum of R385....

Even these brief incidents indicate that the situation in the city remains tense. This kind of base behavior is to be encountered at the same time as human sorrow and suffering and displays of genuine heroism.

And yet these incidents are not typical of the overall atmosphere in the city. There are countless instances of selflessness, compassion, and heartfelt support. This applies to the soldiers. Soldiers have deployed 7,200 tents for the homeless and more than 40 distribution centers for prime necessities in different rayons of the city. There is a swelling inflow of material aid from okrugs, fleets, and schools. Order and organization have improved in the disaster areas.

...We drove along Shirakatsi Street. The headlights shone on open fires and people warming themselves around them. They were just taking a short break. And then back to work. Just like before, every hour is precious. It is amazing that people are still found alive beneath the ruins. Only yesterday they found 10 people who, one would like to believe, will be successfully brought back to life. I personally witnessed a rescue team finding a 45-year old woman. It looked as if she had gone. But after being given treatment on the spot, she resumed breathing, a groan was heard.... One more person saved. On this occasion, she was brought back to life by rescue workers from Israel.

Midnight was approaching, and there were far fewer people in the streets. And suddenly.... A man ran out into the middle of road. Waving his hands. What was going on?

"Comrades, is it true that there will be another earthquake today?"

Sr Lt Savenko tried to find out the source of this information.

"Everybody says so," the man vaguely shrugged his shoulders. "Our neighbors seem to have heard something on the radio, they started gathering their belongings...."

The officer explained as calmly as possible that there had been no radio reports, that panic rumors must be nipped in the bud. But we felt that the man was not convinced, he continued asking. I asked his name. He told me reluctantly: Garik Akopyan. A watchman by occupation. He was less excited when he left us. And I thought to myself that the word of truth acquires the value of gold when television and radio broadcasting is not functioning. I thought that the city authorities should not let the initiative slip, they should keep a grip on the situation. After all, rumors can at times cause as much panic as an actual earthquake.

...We drove along 50th Soviet Army Anniversary Street. Militia Captain A. Vardanyak from the City Internal Affairs Administration had joined the soldiers on duty here. It was curfew time already. This meant that vehicles and people could not circulate without special passes. This is, of course, a forced measure prompted by life. Some dishonest people embark on provocations, incitement, and all sorts of intrigues. For example, they ask for money to supply vodka from semi-ruined stores. Some unknown person even offered to "capture" the savings bank guarded by Private A. Zakharin. He promised to split the "catch." The bandit was immediately detained. He is in the process of being identified.

The "Shirak" Hotel. Pvt I. Ozerov is on duty there, the same one who, together with his comrades, returned R30,000 to the state. What actually happened? "When we went to guard the food store," the soldier told me, "we discovered someone inside. A small flame could be seen through the broken windows. I immediately posted a guard at the entrance, and then made my way inside the store. Money from the cash desks was all over the floor. Admittedly the robber had already managed to escape via the emergency exit, but he had failed to discover the main safe...." The money was placed inside a sports bag and, according to procedures, the soldiers handed it over to Lieutenant Colonel Malishin, member of the operations group.

"Everything is now quiet along the route," the soldier said.

Everything quiet along the route.... These words express more than just professionalism and awareness of a soldier's duty. They also express the unity and cohesion of all who are now guarding order and calm in the disaster area. Senior Lieutenant S. Avdalyan, senior operations chief of the Leninakan Internal Affairs Administration Criminal Investigations Department, who was on duty at the Army operations group for eliminating the consequences of the earthquake, told me: We would have hardly achieved anything without the Army.... An equally warm response to the job done by Army subunits was forthcoming from Militia Colonel L. Galstyan, chief of the Leninakan Internal Affairs Administration.

It was long after midnight when it started snowing. This is usually a cause of joy just before the New Year. But snow today is an evil, because it hinders rescue operations. Engineer V. Shestiperov brought his vehicle to a halt outside the city staff for eliminating the consequences of the disaster.

"Help is needed!"

The Moscow institute where he works has developed a unique apparatus to trace people in ruined buildings, like that used by many rescue squads abroad; but, unfortunately, production in our country has still not been organized. It uses electromagnetic waves to penetrate stone obstructions and, if there is someone alive there, it shows the frequency of his heartbeat. Thus, in a matter of literally minutes, one such instrument detected someone alive beneath the rubble. There were no bulldozers, however!

We rushed out. Success was just around the corner—we saw a parked bulldozer without a driver. After 3 days and nights with hardly any sleep, its master had finally decided to take some rest. When he heard what was happening, he climbed behind the controls. His name was M. Babayan. Viktor Aleksandrovich Shestiperov thanked him with all his heart.

"Afterwards you can leave it to us," he said, sitting next to Babayan.

Yes, everyone has his own job to do, his own sector. But it is important to be able to look a little further and perceive the overall picture, to understand the human anguish which has now become the anguish of our whole country.

AUCCTU's Shalayev on Assistance

LD1912221288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Report by correspondents Kuryan Khomaryan and Yuriy Korotkov]

[Text] In spite of the fact that an intensive search is still being carried out in Leninakan and in several areas destroyed by the earthquake, and people are still being pulled from ruins, the second phase of work has already begun in practice in the disaster area. This envisions the complete removal of debris and the preparation of sites for the large scale construction of housing, social and cultural facilities, industrial enterprises, and other economic buildings.

[Korotkov] Equally difficult and important is the work to completely evacuate children, women, and the elderly from the earthquake zone. The trade unions are giving the republic great assistance in this. Here is what AUCCTU Chairman Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev said in an interview with us:

[Begin recording] [Shalayev] The AUCCTU Secretariat has made the decision to assign 50,000 places in trade union sanatoria to accomodate the families and people who have fallen victim. Thus, we wanted to give the republic the genuine material basis that would allow families from Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak, and villages that suffered from the earthquake to be taken in along with their children, and that would allow schools and teaching facilities to be organized, to allow teaching in Armenia. In other words, we wanted to give them a roof over their heads and, of course, surround them with care.

Just via our points—just through the trade union evacuation assistance points—we have so far evacuated, in an organized fashion, 62,000 people from the regions hit. These are, by and large, mothers, children, and elderly people. We are trying to make sure men remain in their towns and take part in taking care of the quake's effects, I should say that in this respect we are aware of the support rendered of the inhabitants themselves. Up until this morning, we had evacuated 32,000 people beyond the borders of the republic—that is, together with children—including more than 30,000 people who have been evacuated to trade union sanatoria.

Now, at the request of the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs following the decision that was made by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, we are starting to send the victims to sanatoria belonging to the party Central Committee. I can tell you that the first to go to these sanatoria were the inhabitants of rural areas that had suffered badly from the earthquake; Akhuryanskiy Rayon near Leninakan; Spitak Rayon, which is adjacent to the town of Spitak; and Gugarskiy Rayon, which is also near the town of Kirovakan; as well as several more rayons, from the town of Stepanavan. They have gone to sanatoria belonging to the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs in the towns of Gagra, Kislovodsk, and to other sanatoria in Mineralnyye Vody in the Caucasus, and around Moscow.

[Korotkov] Stepan Alekseyevich, considerable financial assistance is being given to the victims through the channels of the USSR Council of Ministers and the CPSU Central Committee. Roughly what sort of sum does your assistance come to?

[Shalayev] Through the channels of the trade unions, we believe roughly R120-140 million are needed, but those 120-140 million do not include the expenses incurred in keeping the evacuees in the trade union sanatoria. This will amount to another very great sum. Keeping 50,000 people in trade union sanatoria will cost the trade unions R500,000 a day. If they remain about 100 days, then that will be an extra R50 million. [end recording]

Nationalist Activities Continue in Armenia

'Troublemakers' Seek Independence

PM2012121588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 20 Dec 88 p 4

[Dispatch by special correspondent Yu. Vasilyev: "On Conscience and Dishonor... What Are the Troublemakers From the So-called 'Karabakh' Committee Seeking?"]

[Excerpt] Yerevan-Moscow—[passage omitted] I shall briefly describe one of the troublemakers. He was detained and, in accordance with the decree, received 30 days' administrative custody—for insulting representatives of authority and kindling national hostility by his actions. He is 27-year-old Movses Gorgisyan, a graduate of the Abovyan pedagogical institute. He has worked in the Goris theater. Becoming a direct accomplice and very close associate of P. Ayrikyan, expelled this summer from the USSR for unseemly acts and deprived of Soviet citizenship, Movses Gorgisyan was one of the organizers of the so-called "association of national self-determination." This organization set itself nothing more nor less than the following task: the struggle for the creation of an "independent" Armenia and its withdrawal from the USSR. The newfound functionary himself declared he was the editor of the journal with the pretentious title NEZAVISIMOST ["Independence"] and the bulletin RODINA, both published by this "association."

This strident, arrogant man could frequently be seen at meetings in Yerevan, where he would shout in an inflammatory way: "We must struggle against Moscow!...", "We are for a united independent Armenia!..." and would eagerly give interviews to foreign journalists, especially those seeking evil-smelling information.

It was Gorgisyan who contrived, by deception, to be allowed to speak at an unsanctioned meeting. At the meeting Gorgisyan literally beat out from the crowd, which had no serious understanding of anything, agreement for Ayrikyan, who had been expelled from the country, to speak in the European parliament "on behalf of the entire (?!) Armenian people." And with the aid of his henchmen this functionary immediately passed on to the West the "agreement" he had received.

And one more of the troublemakers. The BBC recently broadcast a telephone interview with Muscovite Olga Borova, who presented herself as the editor of some "Express-Chronicle." Without a trace of hesitation she told her listeners: "There are a great many tanks and armored transport vehicles in Yerevan and people are seized directly on the street, or are simply taken without any apparent reason..." What is this? Lies, provocation, the desire to undermine trust in our restructuring and in glasnost? All of them at once, obviously. Or else the most elementary dishonorableness.

Yes, we have obviously been too patient with the people who have sown hostility among the fraternal peoples and destabilized the already heated situation. We proceeded from the premise that the sphere of national feelings requires tolerance and very considered assessments. But in this terrible, grave hour of misfortune they have not spared us as we grieve, rush for aid, and lay on the sacred altar of friendship and good-neighborliness our savings, our personal belongings, and, finally, our own blood. They have put their arrogant, ambitious interests above everything else, even above the law and humanity. So is it not time finally and exactingly to call them to order?? To fully apply Soviet laws to them?

Official on Karabakh Committee

PM1912112188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 6

[IZVESTIYA-TASS report under general heading: "From Latest Reports"]

[Text]

Armenian MVD

"Scum"—people who have decided they are the controllers of people's destinies—sometimes appear on the wave of growing democracy and glasnost. On the streets of Yerevan and other cities in the republic these days you can meet with people dressed in black shirts, allegedly as a sign of mourning, but not for the tens of thousands of unfortunate people who were the victims of the destructive earthquake, but for the "prisoners" of Nagorno-Karabakh who are not allowed to be "reunited" with Armenia. They have grown beards and promised to wear them until there is a "just solution" of the Karabakh problem. And on the other side of the republic's border, in Azerbaijan, "whiteshirts" are strutting about, proclaiming as their slogan: "We will die but we will not surrender Karabakh."

However, as was noted in M.S. Gorbachev's recent interview with Central Television and Armenian television correspondents, Karabakh "has long been unnecessary" to the former and the latter "and has never bothered them." They are anxious for leading posts, seeking to trample the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia.

"Indeed," V. Yerin, Armenian first deputy minister of internal affairs, stated, "it was not the 'blackshirts,' not the 'whiteshirts,' and not the 'bearded ones' who organized the provocative row around Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. They are merely the blind executors of the will of 10-12 ideologists of the 'Karabakh' committee created a year ago, who ignored the resolution of the republic's supreme soviet on the disbanding of that organization and are continuing their unseemly activity. In organizing mass gatherings and putting on them demagogic demands, right up to proclaiming Armenia's 'sovereignty,' they are essentially opposing the actual process of restructuring, whose success largely depends on the unity and cohesion of all peoples and nations inhabiting the country."

"Seeking to attract as many people as possible to its side, the committee puts forward an extensive program which contains not only political but also 'ecological' demands," V. Yerin continues. "The demagogic nature of these demands is borne out by the discussion initiated by 'Karabakh' around the Armenian atomic power station. The construction of an atomic energy center in a seismic zone was long ago recognized to be a mistake and it has been decided to convert it in the course of 1989-1990 but the 'Karabakhites' are continuing to shout their slogan; 'Down with the AES.' And what is the worth of the provocative forecasts of the committee's leaders, who claim that, contrary to the opinion of scientists, the earthquake may continue and lead to countless casualties!"

"In the past, the 'Karabakh' activists, playing on national feelings and sometimes on individual blunders committed by the republic's former leadership, won a certain popularity among the masses," V. Yerin said. "But now that tremendous human grief has come to Armenian soil, they have definitively discredited themselves by their extremist activity. The time has come to use political and administrative power to halt these unbridled adventurists. The recently adopted decree of the republic's supreme soviet on bringing criminal charges against people guilty of kindling interethnic hostility and organizing riots was extremely necessary and timely."

V. Yerin reported that on 10 December a military detail detained 22 people who had organized a provocative demonstration outside the Writers Union building, insulting the servicemen maintaining public order in the city. They included five leaders of the "Karabakh" committee. The military commandant took them into administrative custody for 30 days.

"At a time of trouble and high responsibility we must all be more rallied and united than ever and no one has the right to undertake political adventures undermining the foundations of our society," V. Yerin stressed.

Activists 'Fan Mass Hysteria'

PM1912150988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Article by special correspondent Major O. Vladykin: "'Activists' of Dissension"]

[Text] Stepan Karagebakyan denied outright being a member of the "Karabakh" committee which was disbanded a long time ago but in fact still exists under its new label as the "Karabakh Movement of Armenia." At the same time he admitted that, following the earthquake, he had called almost daily at the republic writers union house, where that selfsame committee was in almost continuous session. That was where he was detained. Together with the "Karabakh" leaders. They were detained in a room where bunches of duplicated inflammatory leaflets were found, while the text of the latest provocative composition was still in the typewriter.

"I neither compiled nor discussed the text of a single leaflet," Stepan Grigoryevich told officers of the rayon military commandant's office during the administrative investigation, "but I agree with their basic demands."

"Which ones?"

"Well, like the fact that we don't need any assistance from Azerbaijan, for example...."

I listened to this apparently intelligent and, to judge by everything, quite well educated young man, and was at a total loss to comprehend why his mind and his spiritual strength had given way to primitive nationalist emotions. Why did a scientific associate of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences scorn elementary logic and easily succumb to such obviously herdlike hysteria?

"If only you had read just a few of the telegrams which arrived here from Baku after the disaster," Karagebakyan went on. "They were conveying congratulations...."

Actually, not a single officer from the military commandant's office has so far seen such telegram in reality. Nobody showed any to me, either. But I consider it perfectly feasible that such scum, having altogether lost their conscience and taking the liberty to commit such loathsome actions, were actually to be found in the neighboring region. But does this mean that all Azerbaijanis should pay the price of losing their brothers' trust to compensate for the guilt of a handful of scoundrels? And is it equally possible to pass wholesale judgment on the Armenian people on the basis of what individual degenerates are doing?

Literally 24 hours after the terrible tragedy I happened to visit Aydarly Village in Armenia's Gugarkskiy Rayon. This village, together with a few more villages with Azerbaijani populations, form a chain in a narrow gorge.

On entering Aydarly I saw a tank blocking the road, an officer, and a group of armed soldiers. Lieutenant Vitaliy Naklonnyy told me that his mission was to prevent clashes between the Armenian and Azerbaijani population.

"It is painful to see all this," the officer said, trying to control his choking voice. "For all intents and purposes they are blockaded here. Transport is not functioning. The electricity supply has been cut off. This is the 20th day in succession without any deliveries of bread and other products. They stay close to the tank day and night. They are afraid to move away."

"There is nobody else to protect us now," local school teacher Gurban Mamedov said. "Before the tank and soldiers arrived, people used to come from Lernapat, threatening us and demanding that we all should leave here. Even the precinct inspector, Militia Senior Lieutenant Garnik Darbinyan, issued a threatening ultimatum: Unless we left within 2 days, he could not guarantee anything."

"Yes, that's exactly what Darbinyan said," people around us echoed.

While in Yerevan, I asked Lieutenant General A. Makashov, military commandant of the city:

"Why is it that people whose duty it is to uphold the law at the local level are actually condoning malicious breaches of the law?

"Why, you ask?..." Albert Mikhaylovich took a neat looking folder from his desk. "Read this."

I leafed through the documents he had offered and, honestly speaking, found it hard to believe what I was reading. Incident notes and reports compiled on the basis of statements by citizens of Azerbaijani nationality on leaving Armenian territory. They listed complaints.

I could cite these documents, full of facts and the surnames of people who had committed evil deeds. But I will not do this. I know that Azerbaijan also has its "activists" of dissension—smart operators and instigators who would immediately start circulating the information published by the newspaper. In pursuit of their own unseemly goals, of course. And yet, military commandants operating in special districts on the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR have documents along exactly the same lines. There could be no end of mutual accusations. Common sense is far more important today, a realization that peoples that have lived for centuries next to and with one another must continue to share the same land in the future. Far more importance attaches today to the numerous instances of help from Azerbaijanis for their neighbors who have suffered from the earthquake. Some informal instigator leaders both in Armenia and in Azerbaijan would very much like to conceal and keep silent about these instances. After all, they obstruct the calls for a "holy" struggle, which was the topic of pontifications to fellow citizens by a representative of the disbanded "Karabakh" committee which is trying to revive itself under a new label. It is not hard for people in Azerbaijan to hear about this struggle.

Enough of tolerating those who fan mass hysteria! Khachik Stamboltsyan, another "Karabakh" leader, was detained yesterday. Now he and the other committee members will have to explain the objectives of their reckless activity. Its true objectives. The only thing to be said for the time being is that the incipient stabilization in interethnic relations, which was noticeably accelerated by the terrible calamity which befell the Armenian people, has really frightened the rabble-rousers. People have no time for them. And yet, they so much wished and still wish to strut around posing as leaders, to carry people along as before. But the people of the two republics are perfectly entitled to ask them this natural question: Where are you leading, and why?

MVD's Zabotin on 'Extremists'

PM1812185188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 18 Dec 88 p 4

[Interview with B. Zabotin, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, by A. Mogilat: "With the Full Force of Glasnost and the Law"—date, place given]

[Text] [Mogilat] Boris Vasilyevich, how do you view today's situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia?

[Zabotin] It remains tense. The tragedy which is shared and experienced not only in our country but also abroad has not calmed the "Karabakh" or "Krunk" extremists. They are continuing to fuel tension despite the calamity, only now by other measures. Rallies and group pogroms are of course ruled out now, in the conditions of the curfew and the increased protection of public order. Provocative rumors are still being circulated and criminal actions are being committed in some places. In Armenia, for example, false information is being circulated about a mass compulsory evacuation of people and the humiliation of and theft from Armenians in Azerbaijan. And conversely, of course, the corresponding rumors are being circulated in Azerbaijan about what is happening to Azerbaijanis in Armenia.

Well, let us face the truth: Incidents of this kind have indeed been happening. But unlike in past months they are local in character. The disbanded "Karabakh" committee does not like this and its leaders are seeking ways to recover their lost positions, despite the fact that workers collectives and the sober-minded intelligentsia condemn them.

Hundreds of thousands of Armenians have been left homeless as a result of the earthquake, and tens of thousands of Azerbaijanis and Armenians have left their home areas because of the national strife. I can give you the following figures: 148,000 Armenians have left Azerbaijan and 161,000 Azerbaijanis have left Armenia...

In the past few days—and this must be stressed in particular—people have begun returning to their homes.

[Mogilat] In the past few days the editorial office telephones have been ringing nonstop, and the bulk of the readers' mail has been about the terrible disaster which has befallen the Armenian people. People have been offering their help and sharing the Armenian people's pain and sorrow. But at the same time readers' letters have increasingly frequently been asking the same question: How much longer? How much longer can we tolerate those people whom even this disaster has not brought to their senses? Was the law not written for them? How many more nationalist demonstrations will there be, in this republic or that republic, of the kind that the mass media are reporting nowadays? After all, the incitement of national strife must be punished under Soviet laws. This point is made in particular by A. Agapov from Moscow, P. Korneyev from Kuybyshev, N. Nyagu from Moldavia, Yu. Dobrovolskiy from Khabarovsk, and many others.

[Zabotin] These demands are fair. Even now extremists are continuing to destabilize the situation. The law and glasnost are against them. The press, radio, and television have been reporting extensively on the situation and that is yielding good results: many people are giving it serious and sober thought. In Azerbaijan, owners of hunting rifles have voluntarily surrendered more than 18,000 guns. In Armenia 86 guns have been surrendered so far.

The law enforcement organs have stepped up the work of exposing the instigators of and participants in the pogroms, violence, and other unlawful acts as well as detaining those who are inciting them and inflaming national hatred.

Incidentally, both republics have a law governing this situation. For instance, Article 67 of the Azerbaijan SSR Criminal Code says that actions such as propaganda or agitation aimed at inciting racial or national hatred or dissension and similarly the direct or indirect restriction of rights or the granting of direct or indirect advantages to citizens because of their race or nationality are punishable offenses. There is a similar article in the Armenian SSR Criminal Code. Furthermore, the penalty for this offense in both republics is a serious one—deprivation of liberty for a period of between 6 months and 3 years. Thus the law is the same in both republics in both its essence and its penalty.

[Mogilat] But if there are many extremists at liberty, does that mean that these articles of the law are simply "inoperative"?

[Zabotin] I cannot accept that, and I can cite a number of cases in which criminal proceedings have been instituted and investigations are in progress.

K. Iskanderov, a resident of Kazakh village in Azerbaijan, was detained in Idzhevanskiy Rayon in Armenia. A search of his GAZ-24 car revealed a foreign-made pistol and seven cartridges for it. In Megrinskiy Rayon's Maralzami village in November, A. Karimov, a worker in a geological prospecting team, made five packets of explosives which he placed around a number of apartment blocks and livestock units... In Kalinino city, Sadykov fired several revolver shots at a crowd of Armenians, wounding two people in the process.

Here is a report from Azerbaijan. R. Tevonyan, born 1963, not working, took part in pogroms and arson attacks in Stepanakert. When his home was searched a small-bore sawn-off rifle was discovered along with 78 cartridges. Then there is Pashayev, another unemployed man—he has made indicted for active participation in an attack on party gorkom and militia buildings in Sheki city and also an assault against Armenians' homes. Ya. Movsesyan, another layabout, born in 1956, placed six home-made explosive devices around the settlement soviet building and a pharmacy in Adzhikent settlement—a suburb of Kirovabad. Four of those devices exploded. Fortunately no one was injured. The criminal was caught. Criminal proceedings have been instituted against him and an inquiry has been started.

Those are some examples... The appropriate measures are also being carried out those who try to hide stolen goods acquired during the period of corruption and those who set up "unofficial funds" for strikers. Take I. Alekperov, for example: He is an executive of the Kedabekskiy Rayispolkom who, in the second half of November, organized a collection of money at enterprises and organizations in the rayon so as to give financial assistance to strikers and those taking part in rallies on Lenin Square in Baku. When detained he was found to have R5,000 on him.

The overwhelming majority of people understand the need for resolute measures and actively support the work of the law enforcement organs. And even though some "Karabakh" committee activists are spreading more new rumors all the time, their attempts are doomed to fail.

[Mogilat] Boris Vasilyevich, I know that you have toured this region on official assignments. What are your personal impressions?

[Zabotin] I remember in particular the meetings in those villages with a mixed population—Azerbaijanis and Armenians. Someone had arrived in such a village at night, clearly for a provocative purpose, and fired several shots. The atmosphere in the hitherto calm village became heated. Some said that Azerbaijanis were firing at Armenians, others said that Armenians were firing at Azerbaijanis. But it remained to be seen who had actually fired the shots.

When we arrived and gathered the people together it turned out that people had been living there in complete harmony. They worked peacefully, their children went to the same school, many Azerbaijani and Armenian families were related... A good and useful discussion took place. People said that this was the handiwork of those people suffering from having nothing to do, whereas we need to work. There is no other way on the land.

That was the situation in the summer. But the extremists continued their dirty deeds. The curfew was introduced to prevent excesses. But rumors are interfering even today. Insidious rumors, furthermore, subtle rumors which cannot fail to cause a reaction. When checked out these fabrications most often have no substance. When we suggest to those who were fueling passions that they come and see things for themselves, this usually has a sobering effect on them.

[Mogilat] But this work, by which I mean the exposure of insidious rumors, should be done first and foremost by party organs, shouldn't it? In Alma-Ata, for example, since the well-known events of December 1986, KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA and other newspapers published in the republic have carried regular selections of items under the "Public Opinion" rubric. This is helping the Kazakh party organization to mold a healthy social consciousness.

[Zabotin] In Armenia and Azerbaijan, unfortunately, time has been wasted and must now be made up. But that does not mean that today's efforts will not bear fruit. I think that when everyone unites to tackle a problem, it cannot resist them. It only needs the effort. The aim is clear and noble.

KOMMUNIST Editorial 'Significant'

PM1912133188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Press review by V. Boyarkin and G. Kilosanidze: "Bridges and Abysses. Armenian Journalism in the Dramatic Days of the People's Tragedy"]

[Excerpts] Yerevan—Serious misfortune has struck the beautiful, ancient land of Armenia, bringing death, grief, and suffering to thousands of people. It has evoked sharp pain in the heart of every Soviet person. At this hour of grief, the whole country and the whole world has bowed its head before the tragedy.

Overcoming the disaster is the main theme in the Armenian press, television, and radio, which are at the heart of the tragic events. Newspaper, television, and radio reports from Spitak, Leninakan, Kirovakan, Stepanavan, and other population centers and rayons of the republic are reminiscent of reports from the front line. "Our Duty Is To Rally and Mobilize All Forces," "Following the Laws of Fraternity," "The Grief of the Armenian People Is the Grief of the Whole Country"—these are just some of the headlines in the republic newspapers.

The press has published letters from the republic's working people containing words of gratitude to M.S. Gorbachev, who broke off his foreign tour to go to Armenia to support the people at this time of sadness, give a new boost to the organization of work to eliminate the consequences of the disaster, and help the victims. It has also carried detailed reports on the work of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission headed by N.I. Ryzhkov.

Reports and dispatches tell of heroic work in the disaster regions by volunteer detachments from all over the country, Soviet Army soldiers and officers, mine rescue teams, and coal mine rescue teams from mining centers, who are pulling people out from beneath collapsed buildings, clearing debris, and repairing roads, and of the struggle without sleep and rest for every human life.

All the newspapers missed the following fact: On 8 December, servicemen dug some 200 people out alive from the ruins of an enterprise. Engineer B.G. Magakyan lost his own life in saving some schoolchildren from death—he himself, incidentally, was brought up in a children's home by an ordinary Armenian woman. A tragic and at the same time heroic story from the life of Armenia and the whole country is being written. The lines written in youth newspapers are imbued with the bitterness of pain and loss. Journalists tell of how children evacuated from the scene of the disaster call for their mothers, looking questioningly at the faces of everyone around them, and of children injured, maimed, dead, or still alive, but buried beneath the ruins. They tell of selfless members of student detachments, only yesterday pupils in the senior grades, who are today students in a difficult school of growing up, a school of civic maturity, where real human values—friendship, mutual assistance, and mutual respect—supplant the things that yesterday sometimes still seemed so tempting...

The bitterness of loss is great. And the overwhelming majority of Armenian journalists are trying to find the only words that can restore people's faith in life, in the future, and their faith that disaster will be overcome by the joint efforts of the Soviet peoples.

Today, when the solidarity of all republics with the fraternal Armenian people has found material expression, as it were, and poured here in a very substantial flood via air bridges and other bridges, in interpreting these dramatic days and phenomena, the republic's journalists are trying to build and strengthen the spiritual bridges which link the people of their native land with each other and with all the citizens of our immense power. This creative work and reporting of the present events are lent even greater sincerity by the fact that the republic's organization of journalists has also suffered loss and shared the people's fate: The faces of newspapermen darken in sorrow at the mention of the journalists from the Spitak city newspaper, who perished with the editor, Smbat Galstyan, and of Genrikh Gevorkyan, editor of the Leninakan city newspaper, who was injured...

Yes, the whole country, the whole world is displaying active compassion for those who were in the disaster zone and who need help and support. But there are also other people, people who would like to make political capital out of the people's grief. And the local press has not overlooked this, even though it strikes a note which jars with the general attitude. No, it has not overlooked it, although, to be frank, it has not showed this kind of assertive boldness before. It is probably true that the tragedy itself has forced them to take a clearer stand and speak out.

This phenomenon is discussed, in particular, in an editorial article entitled "Hour of Misfortune and Hour of Responsibility" published in the republic newspaper KOMMUNIST. [passage omitted]

The appearance of this article in the republic press is significant. After all, the days when the republic's mass media made a very weak contribution to stabilizing the situation that has arisen in connection with the events in

Nagorno-Karabakh and often even intensified the interethnic discord are still fresh in people's memories. These actions on the part of the press were given a strict appraisal at the meeting at the CPSU Central Committee between M.S. Gorbachev and USSR Supreme Soviet deputies representing the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR and also the leadership of both republics and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The just demand that the press help to stop the events and turn them in the direction of normalization, reconciliation, and friendship was underlined, in particular.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau session on 7 December raised the issue of serious shortcomings in the Armenian mass media's coverage of issues concerning interethnic relations. A discussion was begun but could not be continued: The republic shuddered from the blow dealt by the earthquake. Since then, time has taken on a new dimension. Since 1141 local time on 7 December, Armenia has begun to live at a new, very intense pace. The tragedy has forced people to look at themselves, their lives, and their problems—real and imagined—in a new way. It is forcing them to separate the wheat from the chaff and clever rhetoric from real action. At a time when Armenia and all the Soviet people are in mourning, design engineer G. Grigoryan wrote in KOMMUNIST, the actions of these "leaders" [not further specified] are nothing other than an impudent challenge and an attempt to exploit for their own advantage the misfortune of their own people.

A great deal now depends on us, Yerevan station engineer S. Bagdasaryan said in the same newspaper. He rightly believes that we must sweep aside everything that impedes us, not give way to panic and conjecture, and quash the rumors circulated by irresponsible people. G. Andreasyan, deputy director of the Armenian House of Journalists, asked in the newspaper SOVETAKAN AYASTAN: Is this really the time for demonstrations and rallies? A time when cities and villages have been razed to the ground and people can still be heard breathing beneath the debris...

...A routine session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission on eliminating the consequences of the earthquake has just come to a close. Concluding the session, N.I. Ryzhkov said that the first issue of the Leninakan city newspaper came out yesterday. The first issue since the earthquake...

Armenian-Azerbaijani Hostility Examined

PM2012140188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Time To Build Bridges. Conversation Among Our Special Correspondents Back From Trips to Armenia and Azerbaijan"]

[Text] Let us begin by saying that we did not want to be either writing or talking about this today. We are two groups of journalists sent to Baku and Yerevan at the end of November to tell readers about the situation in the two republics. It must be said that we had often been there before, at the start of the conflict. But on 7 December, when the earthquake occurred in Armenia, we reckoned that the tension in relations between the two neighboring peoples would vanish against the background of such a disaster. Alas, we were wrong; it did not happen. The situation worsened and it became clear to us that we would have to return to the problem.

So four journalists who witnessed the events—R. Lynev and A. Stepovoy, who are back from Azerbaijan, and M. Krushinskiy and A. Protsenko, who were in Armenia—decided to compare notes and opinions on what they had seen.

R. Lynev: Are we right to have this conversation at all, being, so to speak, a third party—journalists from Moscow?

A. Protsenko: The point is that there is no direct dialogue at the moment between the main parties.

A. Stepovoy: Moreover, both parties themselves are constantly appealing to central authorities, to the central press.

M. Krushinskiy: Before getting involved in matters of theory, I suggest we exchange purely visual impressions. What struck you most in Baku?

A. Stepovoy: Tanks, soldiers with submachineguns, the curfew... Old folk said they had never seen the like, even during the war.

R. Lynev: Thousands of people crowding into the central square. Banners and slogans having, to put it mildly, little to do with restructuring.

M. Krushinskiy: It was the same in Yerevan, except for the crowds and the banners. The curfew was observed pretty strictly. But the rally in Baku was a source of discontent for Yerevaners: Why are they allowed to? they asked, if we can't....

R. Lynev: But the Baku people saw their rally as a "response" to what had happened somewhat earlier in Stepanakert and Yerevan.

A. Stepovoy: It appeared that anyone could get on the platform and say what he liked. But not so... There was a censorship process going on. There was always someone standing next to the speaker, controlling emotions in the square. A raised hand meant applause, a clenched fist meant whistles and jeering. In that way some were encouraged and others were forced to shut up.

A. Protsenko: Who were seen as the dissidents?

A. Stepovoy: Those who appealed to reason.

R. Lynev: Another observation is that many workers, seeing the way "square democracy" operated, dispersed and went to work. So it would be stretching the truth to talk about "monolithic unity." Even if half a million people were in the square.

M. Krushinskiy: Who was behind the events, then?

A. Protsenko: For about a year now we have been hearing and reading that certain corrupt clans are behind the events in both republics. There is a logic here—look for it, if you will. But practically everyone I talked with in Armenia asked the question: Who exactly are we talking about? Why do we have a legal investigation apparatus, a KGB at all, if only one operator has been identified so far—Manucharov?

R. Lynev: Well, in the first place, it is not one but an entire group. But I agree. Something similar is being said in Azerbaijan too. How long are the people going to be burdened with a mafia still unexposed? Let the authorities do their duties. As in Uzbekistan, for example. There we can see that things are really being done to improve the situation. Here all we have is words.

A. Stepovoy: But we saw for ourselves the demonstrators in the square eating better than people in workers dining rooms. Refrigerator trucks bring in tonnes of food. Obviously someone was paying for it all....

M. Krushinskiy: Nevertheless the question remains: Why was there a permanent rally in Baku in defiance of the curfew?

A. Stepovoy: Because the army did not want bloodshed—so the military commandant said.

M. Krushinskiy: But in the end the Army (to use its language) "displaced" the crowd and the rallies stopped. That happened on 5 December, I think....

R. Lynev: It seemed to us that the rally was petering out anyway. There were no more than 1,500 people left and the military dispersed them within half an hour.

A. Stepovoy: But it was then that things started happening. Someone started the rumor that tanks had been sent into the square and that blood was being shed. Immediately crowds carrying mourning banners filled the streets, surrounded the party Central Committee and Internal Affairs Ministry buildings, and burst into enterprises, trying to disrupt work. Several cars were set on fire in the streets and people were killed.... In short, the situation got out of control for a while. Then, just as unexpectedly, it settled down again the next day.

A. Protsenko: The end of the Baku rally further calmed the situation in Yerevan. By that time practically all the enterprises were already operating and classes had even started at VUZ's....

A. Stepovoy: Why "even"?

A. Protsenko: Because the students had been the most stubborn strikers.

A. Stepovoy: Sure. In Baku, too, young people and students comprised the most active section of the movement.

M. Krushinskiy: But I think it is unfair to contrast Baku and Yerevan. In parts of Armenia the situation also got out of control at times. Armed gangs were formed and shots were fired. There was an increase in the number of casualties among those who had decided to leave Armenia.

R. Lynev: How did your interlocutors in Armenia explain this? In fact, since Sumgait most Armenians consider themselves the injured party and claim that as far as they are concerned violence, let alone brutality, is unacceptable.

M. Krushinskiy: They explained that it was "retribution" for Sumgait. They did not approve of shooting people, of course—at any rate educated people didn't. But they said: What else can we do if the central authorities are powerless to protect us?

R. Lynev: A similar situation again—Azerbaijanis had the same worry. That is the tragedy of it. Each side wanting to know who started it. Now we must find who is going to be first to stop it.

A. Protsenko: They were accusing persecutors "on the other side": But they were doing the shooting in their own home, at the persecuted.

R. Lynev: Who started it, who will end it?... Not for nothing did we mention educated people. It is up to them, primarily historians and writers, to provide the "theoretical backup" for the conflict. What does it consist of? It is an attempt to validate the exclusive historical right to Nagorno Karabakh. But it is quite clear that, no matter how many arguments either side adduces, it is a futile dispute. Both peoples have lived in the land for ages, side by side. They have gotten on, they have fallen out, they have borrowed a great deal from one another's culture and experience....

A. Stepovoy: But the problem is that the dispute between the Armenian and Azerbaijani intelligentsia is being conducted in a far from intelligent manner. Each side will only listen to itself.

R. Lynev: In the beginning the intellectuals were outspokenly proud of their influence on the people. But they never suspected what kind of "genie" they had let out of the bottle. Soon the initiative was seized by quite different people, who skillfully played on the people's fine aspirations, on their desire for change.

M. Krushinskiy: As for the "informal," so to speak, and official leaders, in Armenia, for example, the first secretary of one party raykom left his rayon when things got difficult. An exceptional case, of course, but one that characterizes the situation.

A. Stepovoy: At Baku party gorkom we were assured that experienced instructors, propagandists, and agitators were going to the square every morning to explain things to people. They reported back to the gorkom in the evening. But when we visited the square we did not see any sign of this work.

A. Protsenko: But there was a moment when it appeared that the problem of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations was a thing of the past. I don't know about your case, but with us it was not even mentioned for at least 2 full days after the earthquake.

R. Lynev: We had the same impression. Many people in Baku were genuinely shaken and responded to the disaster. Although there were, alas, the gloaters...

M. Krushinskiy: Unfortunately, on the 3d day the situation changed. One began to hear people in Yerevan saying that they would not accept help from Azerbaijanis. There were even rallies where this slogan was aired. All manner of politickers, clearly afraid of losing influence among the masses, launched an obstructionist campaign, blatantly speculating on the dramatic events of the recent past.

A. Protsenko: But they also rather skillfully exploited our propaganda mistakes. Obviously the help coming from Azerbaijan was sincere. Maybe they wanted it to go at least some way toward cooling off the conflict. Unfortunately, the propaganda overkill in reports on this aid had the reverse effect. Many people in Armenia regarded it as tactless.

A. Stepovoy: What do you mean, tactless? After all, it was not words, not slogans that were being held up on the border between the republics, but concrete assistance—drugs and equipment....

M. Krushinskiy: Unfortunately, yes. Those who organized the rallies and the cordons have on their hands the blood of people who were not saved in Leninakan, Spitak, and Kirovakan....

R. Lynev: But ultimately all this must become part of history. The most important thing is to find something solid to work from and find a way to a settlement—to a compromise, without which the problem cannot be solved.

[Editorial conclusion] The day before the earthquake, central television staff began to prepare a Baku-Yerevan television linkup. Preparations were interrupted by the disaster. Will the effort be resumed? We do not know. We are not concerned with that today, of course. But it is up to the neighbors themselves to build a bridge of understanding between them. Not by banking solely on Moscow, and certainly not on force, on the Army. Fate and history have decreed that the two peoples will live together. The present state of alienation is unnatural and cannot last for long.

Seidov Chairs Refugee Resettlement Committee

NC2112062388 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0447 GMT 21 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Under the heading "The Responsibility of Sincerity," the papers report on the regular session of the government commission working with those individuals who have abandoned their places of residence in Armenia. The session was presided over by Azerbaijani Council of Ministers Chairman Seidov.

Reports were delivered by heads of ministries and administrations on the work accomplished and, in particular, on the accommodation provided to those who have arrived from Armenia and their placement in jobs. It also was emphasized that it is imperative to pay more attention to placing children in schools. It was further noted that there are problems regarding the question of compensating the victims for the damages they have incurred.

It was stressed at the meeting that, in conjunction with organizations of the Armenian SSR, it is necessary to accelerate work to return both Armenians and Azerbaijanis to their places of permanent residence, to guarantee their security and resumption of peaceful labor, and to stabilize the situation in general.

Azerbaijan Party Officials Meet Media Workers

NC2012075688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 20 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers report on the meeting held at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee with the workers of the republic's mass media organs and those of a number of central newspapers and journals. Ratib Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and [name indistinct], deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department, addressed the convocation.

(?Yetsin), a responsible functionary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Afrand Dashdamirov, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, participated in the work of the meeting.

Azerbaijan Factories Violate Environmental Laws

NC1612080388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Excerpt] The procurator's office in Barda Rayon has submitted an official report to the republic's procurator on the serious violation of the laws on the protection of the environment in the rayon. The (?waste) dumped by the asphalt and cotton producing factories, [word indistinct] oil complex, iron and steel producing establishments, and the chemical production union has damaged the rayon's ecological balance.

The procurator's office has taken the rayispolkom to task on the question of administrative penalties for those who are responsible. [passage omitted]

Sumgait Factory Closed

LD1612171188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] At the demand of the public and health services of Sumgait, the sulphuric acid shop of the superphosphate factory has ceased its work. It was not simple for the town authorities to make such a decision. The shop not only provided the mechanisms of production of fertilizers with acid, but also dispatched its output to other chemical enterprises.

The factory was given time to create a reserve of stock and was then ordered to close the harmful plant.

A new shop is now being erected at the enterprise. Unlike the previous one, it will be supplied with a gas purification installation and circulating water supply system. This will completely rule out emission of harmful substances into the air and pollution of the Caspian.

Vezirov Attends Academy of Sciences Meeting

NC2112083388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 20 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Soviet science has a significant and responsible role to play in restructuring work and the reformation process in society on the basis of democratization and openness. The successful progress in the country's economy and the moral development of the people is very [word indistinct] to the extent that the scientific potential is used in a way to achieve maximum results and to the extent the lofty directions of the [word indistinct] are successfully realized.

The Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences general meeting on 17 December focused on these main points, which the party has placed before the Soviet scientific field. The meeting discussed the way restructuring is being carried out and the tasks of the republic's scientific organizations. Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, participated in the meeting.

The convocation heard a report by Eldar Salayev, president of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences. Other speakers addressed the meeting, including Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov. Marchuk summed up the meeting.

Ratib Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, (?Razanov), a department chief affiliated with the CPSU Central Committee, and Aliyev, chief of the Azerbaijan Commudnist Party Central Committee Science and Education Institutions Department, participated in the meeting.

The newspapers have published a detailed report on the general meeting of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences under the rubric: Contribution of Science Toward Restructuring Should Be Increased.

Medvedev Calls for 'Principled' Ethnic Policy

PM2012112588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conference at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A conference of union republic communist party central committee and CPSU kraykom and obkom secretaries in charge of ideological work questions and of leaders of mass media, ideological institutions, and creative unions was held at the CPSU Central Committee 19 December.

The conference was opened by A.S. Kapto, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department.

Reports were delivered by Yu.N. Yelchenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; Yu.S. Karabasov, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; U.D. Dzhanibekov, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; B.G. Kibirev, secretary of the Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom; A. Dadabayev, secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee; G.A. Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; M.Kh. Khalmukhamedov, secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; R.Ya. Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; M.Kh. Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; S.M. Bekov, secretary of the Chechen-Ingush CPSU Obkom; S.I. Kononova, secretary of the Kursk CPSU Obkom; A.S. Pavlov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee State Law Department; N.F. Bondarchuk, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

The conference was addressed by V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Commission. Soviet society, V.A. Medvedev emphasized, has entered a complex and extremely crucial stage in its development. The distinguishing characteristic of this period is the transition from public rally forms and discussions to large-scale practical work on the implementation of the 19th all-union party conference directives and the program of restructuring.

The party's attention is focused primarily on the economy's development, and measures are being implemented to make it possible to improve the supply of food, consumer goods, and services and to accelerate housing construction with the minimum of delay. The attainment of these goals is promoted by the social reorientation of the national economy's sectors, the overcoming of people's alienation from the means of production, and the development of the cooperative movement and of relations of economic accountability and lease contracts. The moment is made more complex by the need to implement reconstruction of the political system, economic reform, and the restructuring and improvement of other spheres and avenues of activity while at the same time unwaveringly striving to substantially improve people' life. The report and election campaign now under way within the party is geared to the solution of these key tasks.

The reform of the political system and the unfolding of socialist democracy are now coming to the forefront. In this context, ideological cadres face the task of helping all working people to actively join the process of further democratization of all spheres of Soviet society's life on a socialist basis, of teaching people to live and act in conditions of democracy and to master the new political culture. The preparation for electing USSR people's deputies assumes exceptionally great importance in this context.

V.A. Medvedev went on to note that, in the prevailing situation in the country, the course of developing democratization and glasnost and of reorienting party committees toward work by political methods of leadership seriously enhances the demands made of ideological work and cadres. Special importance is attached today to the consolidation and rallying of social forces around the ideas and tasks of restructuring.

It is important to actively involve young people, students, Komsomol and trade union organizations, and other social formations and associations in restructuring. Matters must be organized so as to ensure that people take their boldest and most interesting initiatives to party committees and encounter objectivity in assessments, keen comradely interest, and real assistance there.

It is necessary to profoundly study and forecast the complex processes occurring in life and the growth of social activeness, including the activity of informal associations. It is important to take into account the main principle—that their objectives should conform with restructuring, the ideology of renewal, and the socialist option. Social activity which is conducted within the framework of the USSR Constitution and does not contradict the interests of socialism deserves recognition from the political and legal viewpoints.

V.A. Medvedev dwelt on the problems of interethnic relations and shared the anxiety expressed by comrades at the conference in connection with the situation prevailing in a number of places. These problems, he emphasized, have evolved into a series of immediate tasks for the party and key questions of restructuring. The exacerbation of interethnic relations in some regions, the Central Committee secretary noted, cannot be perceived as a consequence of restructuring. Democratization and glasnost only illuminated problems that have been with us for a long time—problems which gradually built up over decades because no attention was paid to them, because they were neither brought out into the open nor resolved, but were driven deeper inside. But many party committees and ideological cadres are still failing to analyze the processes and trends in this sphere of relations in depth and to take prompt measures on pressing questions. It was emphasized that delays in work to improve the state of interethnic relations and to ameliorate international education are intolerable, and that a principled policy is the most correct policy as regards the nationalities question. It is essential, within the framework of preparations for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on questions of interethnic relations, to embark on a profound analysis of pressing problems, on a quest for the best possible and most constructive solutions, on a summing up of practice and accumulated experience.

A great role in solving the tasks of restructuring, V.A. Medvedev noted, is played by the mass media. It is our firm and consistent policy to support their activity and consolidate the party's leadership of them. This is not leadership by the old administrative methods but through Communists working in and heading the media, by methods in line with the nature of the rule-of-law state and our party. A major role in this context will be played by the Law on the Press, whose draft is at the final stages.

It is necessary to give more attention to young people's press, the Central Committee secretary emphasized, to improve work with journalist cadres, to enhance their responsibility for the content and orientation of published material, and to show concern for improving their training and the information available to them.

*Estonian Resolution on USSR Constitution

WA18000241 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 19 Nov 88 p 2

["Text" of "Resolution of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on Proposals on the Draft USSR Law on Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and the Draft USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] During the course of discussing the draft USSR Law on Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and the draft USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies, submitted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for nationwide discussion, residents of Estonia have become firmly convinced that it is possible to reform the Soviet society's political system only by means of a radical democratization of social life and a significant increase in the sovereignty of union republics and the independence and responsibility of local bodies in directing political, economic, social, and cultural development. The residents of the republic support the orientation of the 19th All-Union Party Conference on decentralization of government and a redistribution of functions and powers which would ensure maximum initiative and independence in the countryside and implementation of the propositions approved at the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

The guidelines of the CPSU Central Committee pertaining to preparations for a CPSU Central Committee Plenum "On Improving Nationality Relations in the USSR" were also approved.

The majority of residents, labor collectives, and public organizations and movements of the republic expressed their opinion on the draft Law on Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and the draft USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies. The Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet received 21,480 group letters and letters from individual citizens, and also minutes of 428 meetings. The vast majority of the assessments given these draft laws were critical in nature. The majority of the republic's residents requested through more than 861,000 signatures that the draft laws submitted in this form not be accepted for discussion at the forthcoming session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This same opinion was expressed by the sessions of local Soviets of People's Deputies and meetings of party organizations and labor collectives; the scientific community and public movements of the republic also request this. People are concerned about the further course of the democratization process, detecting in the planned changes a danger of centralizing power in the hands of all-union bodies. It is noted that the drafts contain contradictions to the resolutions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on developing democracy. These draft laws provide for a substantial limitation of the sovereignty of union republics and essentially ignore the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination. The rights of union republics in resolving questions of the economy, social and cultural life, and even questions of national culture would decrease significantly. Introducing changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution in the form presented would result in the emergence of serious legal contradictions in the Basic Law.

At the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, the elections of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies were set for the first half of 1989. The Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR believes that to ensure sovereignty of the union republics at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, it is necessary to make it a requirement that adoption, changing, and amendment of the USSR Constitution and other constitutional laws are done only after their approval by all union republics. In the event this requirement is recognized, it will be possible, by making changes to the Chapter 13 of the draft USSR Law on Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and to the draft USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies, to pass corresponding provisions on elections of people's deputies.

The Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic resolves:

1. To recognize Chapter 12 (articles 89-94), Chapter 15 (articles 108-127), and articles 135, 137, 138, 139, 143, 144, 149, 150 and 152 of the draft USSR Law on Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) as not corresponding to the principles of democratization of the Soviet society's political system, Leninist ideas of improving relations between nationalities, and the goals of increasing the sovereignty of Soviet socialist union republics and creating a socialist legal state.

2. To submit to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR the proposal:

2.1. Not to include on the agenda of the forthcoming session discussion of Chapter 12 (articles 89-94), Chapter 15 (articles 108-127), and articles 77, 103, 104, 105, 107, 130, 131, 133, 135, 137, 138, 139, 143, 144, 149, 150, 152, 153, 155, 165 and 174 of the draft USSR Law on Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law), since they do not apply to elections of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

2.2. To draw up and pass a USSR Law "On Procedure for Drawing Up, Passing, and Putting into Force the USSR Constitution."

2.3. To create from among representatives of the union republics on a parity basis a commission for additional study of constitutional questions, involving the public at large in it.

3. To acknowledge that Chapter 13 (articles 95-102) of the draft USSR Law on Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and a number of provisions of the draft USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies do not correspond to the goals of further development of democracy.

4. To submit as a legislative initiative (in accordance with Article 113 of the USSR Constitution) the proposal to make the following changes to the current USSR Constitution:

4.1. To phrase Article 89 in the following manner: "The Soviets of People's Deputies—the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, the supreme organs of state power of the union and autonomous republics—form a unified system of representative organs of state power."

4.2. To phrase the title of Chapter 15 of the USSR Constitution in the following manner: "The Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet."

4.3. To change Part 1 of Article 108 and phrase it in the following manner: "The Congress of USSR People's Deputies is the supreme organ of state power of the USSR. The USSR Supreme Soviet is the supreme organ of state power until convocation of the Congress of People's Deputies."

4.4. To amend Article 108 with Part 4 and phrase it in the following manner: "Adoption, amendment, and changing of the USSR Constitution and constitutional laws can be done only after they have been approved by all union republics."

Consider the present Part 4 as Part 5.

5. To submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium proposals to make changes and amendments to Chapter 13 (articles 95-102) of the draft USSR Law on Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and to the draft USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies in accordance with the enclosure.

A. Ryutel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

V. Vakht, secretary of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Tallin, 16 November 1988

Army Daily Considers Estonian Events

PM2012164588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Dec 88 First Edition p 2

["Notes After Assignment in Tallinn" by special correspondent Captain 3d Rank V. Urban: "From Confrontation to Consolidation"]

[Text] My first phone call after my return from an assignment in Estonia immediately asked a direct question: Why is the newspaper not reporting that a curfew has been introduced in Tallinn?

I think the central press, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA included, is giving its readers quite timely information about Estonia's life today. So how do the fantasies arise? I will tell you my theory. We are still not accustomed to the developments that took place in this Baltic republic before and after 16 November. On that day, as is well known, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted decisions running counter to the country's fundamental law. There is confusion, and therefore clear "scope" for gossip....

A sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held 10 days after the extraordinary session of the republic's parliament. It examined the question of the legality of the acts adopted in Tallinn. Meanwhile the Popular Front assembled a rally of many thousands of people outside the Khorkholl Palace of Culture and Sport.

Slogans in support of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's supreme soviet rang out over the square, as well as slogans accusing central newspapers of tendentiousness. The orators mostly spoke in Estonian. There was no translation, although the previous evening the local television had promised there would be. Each speech was reminiscent of those same slogans.

A week later there was another rally in the same square. This time it was held by the International Movement of Estonian SSR Working People. There were apologies for the fact that, for technical reasons, the organizers were unable to provide a translation from the Russian. The slogans now were the opposite. Reproaches accusing the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee of losing control of the situation.

Party workers did not speak at either of the rallies.

The press has already analyzed the reasons for the creation of the Estonian Popular Front, noting that there are many constructive points in the resolutions of its constituent congress. The program is one thing, but the position of Estonian Popular Front activists is really determined by their actions. And these cannot always be called constructive.

Take a look at the following simple statistic, for example. According to some information, 90 percent of its members come from the Estonian-speaking population, and, according to other information, the figure is as high as 95 percent.... Why has the Russian-speaking population (approximately 40 percent of all the residents of the republic) not supported the front?

It must honestly be admitted that the republic has inherited a tangled knot of socioeconomic, ecological, and national problems from the Stalin era and the period of stagnation. But attempts to immediately cut that knot, as the Estonian Popular Front is in a hurry to do, merely complicate already complex processes.

For instance, Tallinn gorispolkom adopted a decision making it more difficult to obtain a residence permit for the city. And now, in defiance of all-union legislation, it is practically impossible for a unit to obtain residence permits for servicemen who have no quarters. Members of their families are automatically deprived of many elementary rights. I was told the following story: Warrant Officer V. Gudymenko brought his young wife, but in Tallinn they refused to exchange her passport for one bearing her married name. So she was living without a residence permit and with an invalid passport. She had a baby. For the same reasons, the Kalininskiy Rayon registry office would not issue a birth certificate. For 4 months the baby's existence was legally "recognized" only on the basis of the certificate issued at the maternity home. This could have gone on even longer had deputies not helped the family.

Another example. Of a different kind, it's true, but it too will help illuminate the situation. Northeast Estonia is a major industrial area. It is ecologically neglected. The Estonian Popular Front Constituent Congress rightly declared it to be a "disaster zone" and proposed that radical measures be taken to improve the environment. It went on: "Benefits (including subsidies and wage supplements) should be established for the Estonian families that repopulate northeast Estonia with Estonians." Apparently the rest can do without any supplements.

This is the position of an organization that essentially aspires to the role of "alma mater" of restructuring and democratization in the republic. Thus difficulties began to brew. They emerged particularly in the period of the discussion of the draft laws on amendments and additions to the USSR and Estonian SSR Constitutions. November was marked by an extremely powerful surge of rally democracy. Matters reached the point of categorical demands. Here is the appeal adopted by the Paydeskiy Estonian Komsomol Raykom: If the extraordinary, 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet approves the draft additions and amendments to the USSR Constitution in their published form, we propose that the Estonian SSR proclaim itself an Estonian Socialist Republic that does not form part of the Soviet Union.

A pamphlet entitled "Estonia: No to the Draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution" was promptly published. The day after the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deemed certain acts of the Estonian Supreme Soviet session of 16 November to be invalid, the Estonian Popular Front Council of Plenipotentiaries heard a briefing from the republic's justice minister, A. Kiris. It was proposed that the text of the Estonian Constitution incorporating the amendments be published regardless of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree.

True, since the recent session of the republic's parliament, which adopted the resolutions of the extraordinary, 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet as a guide, a great deal has fallen into place. Incidentally, during the discussion of the agenda there were some people who did not want to acknowledge the priority of union laws over republican laws. Well, pluralism of opinions is a familiar phenomenon today. But pluralism presupposes equality of opinions during discussion and respect for opponents' viewpoints. But the Estonian Popular Front is not finding it very easy to give up the idea that its own viewpoint has a monopoly on truth. A prejudiced attitude toward the International Movement and the United Council of Labor Collectives persists to this day. They are declared to be "illegal" and "opponents of consolidation and restructuring." The leadership of the Tallinn Polytechnical Institute and the 10 Popular Front plenipotentiaries in the institute deemed their opponents to be the culprits to blame for the exacerbation of interethnic relations and demanded that the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee make a "firm assessment of the aforementioned organizations' activity."

This position inevitably prompts a sharp reaction in these organizations. Thus the friction is exacerbated and extremes in opinions and actions arise. What about the Estonian Popular Front leaders? Do they share responsibility?

On the eve of the Constituent Conference of the United Council of Labor Collectives the Popular Front took very specific actions to impede it. Estonian Popular Front representatives in the "Marat" association used the plant radio to ask everyone who wanted to to picket the House of Political Enlightenment building before the start of the conference. The picket took place, as I myself witnessed. Some 130 people had to be shown into the conference.... through the back door. Yet the previous night the "sides" had agreed that there would be no obstacles to the conference' work. I reported the details in my dispatch published 2 December. I'm not going to repeat myself. The conclusion is clear: The Estonian Popular Front again misfired, chiefly through a lack of correctitude and goodwill.

The creation on the initiative of the Popular Front of an alternative organization to the United Council of Labor Collectives—the Estonian SSR Union of Labor Collectives—is a clear step backward, even in the admission of the local mass media. By December the line of the "front" between the various social movements had finally emerged. Moreover, their potential can hardly be described as equal. Some have access to newspapers, microphones, the radio. Others have almost no access to news media. One of the most popular slogans at International Movement rallies now is: "A Platform for the International Movement in the Press, on Radio, and on Television!" It is time to heed this.

True, the International Movement too does not always have enough political culture and sober experience. But it is hard for its coordinating council to operate.

When, on 12 October, the republican newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA published the general concept of the International Movement, it published a long commentary of its own alongside. The resolutions of the Estonian Popular Front Constituent Congress were published on the next page. It provided no editorial explanations here. One gets the impression that in this case readers are being presented with the ultimate truth.

Here are a few more facts. The aforementioned Estonian Popular Front rally was held. The next day RAKHVA KHYAEL "provides" a report on it. SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, which is published in Russian, said nothing. Issue 11 of the journal VIKERKAAR for this year published an article entitled "Time of Horrors." M. Laar, its author, tendentiously calls into question the achievements of Soviet power in Estonia. Speaking of the repressions in the republic, he concludes: "We were saved from a worse fate by the military conflict that began 22 June between Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia...." The article was not carried in the Russian-language version of the journal.

Anyone who opposes the stance of the Estonian Popular Front is automatically declared a Stalinist. That is what happened to Academician G. Naan, who voiced his opinion of the present situation in PRAVDA. It is as though there were two democracies. One for the Estonian Popular Front, the other for the rest. Whom does this benefit? Not restructuring, at any rate.

Among my numerous meetings I remember a talk with Colonel N. Solovey (retired). This man's destiny has been varied. Nikolay Vasilyevich, as he is called now, is a native of Estonia. He was born in 1920, was graduated from school in the bourgeois republic, and then studied at the priests' seminary. The establishment of Soviet power in Estonia was also a turning point for him. He took part in creating Komsomol cells in Pechorskiy district. Then he became a cadet at the Tallinn infantry academy. There's no use concealing the fact that there were questions "concerning his origins and bourgeois influence." Anything could happen then. Then there was the front. He fought. For a long time he served as deputy chief of staff of Estonian SSR civil defense. He now works at the gorispolkom. Sadder than anything, Nikolay Vasilyevich said, is the fact that the unstable atmosphere has led to people's division along ethnic lines. This can be seen in the example of the virtual split of the Komsomol, and alarming symptoms are also appearing in veterans organizations and in the party. So the frontline veteran's arrival in the International Movement is entirely natural, and he is now a member of its coordinating council.

But perhaps N. Solovey is too categorical? I shall cite a statement by V. Burlakov, a delegate to the Oktyabrskiy Rayon party conference: "As a member of the counting commission I can note with regret that for many delegates... the only criterion was ethnic origin, that is, some people crossed Russian surnames off the list and others crossed off Estonian surnames" (SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 25 November 1988).

Yes, ethnic relations are particularly "sensitive." That is why they must be discussed without emotions, in a calm atmosphere. There should also be a clear, constructive platform for their solution. I think the resolution of the Estonian Steamship Company's party conference to convene an extraordinary congress or party conference of the Estonian Communist Party with a view to elaborating measures to stabilize the situation in the republic, and the platform for the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum on interethnic relations deserves attention.

There is a suggestion that a congress of forces for restructuring be convened. Indeed, the documents of the Estonian Popular Front, the International Movement, and the United Council of Labor Collectives have many points of contact. A number of ethnic problems originate in the economy. This was noted very keenly by the Constituent Conference of the United Council of Labor Collectives. It is here that there are grounds for consolidation. But events have shown that the Estonian Popular Front leaders are opposed to dialogue.

But what about the curfew, anyway? Yes, rumors are hovering in the Estonian air. But the republic is living a normal life. There are no disorders of any kind. Urgent questions of public life are, as is well known, being resolved by different methods—political methods.

But it is also impossible to fail to notice a certain tension. Public opinion is not formed only from official sources here. Where, in that case, would the following letter to the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office have come from: "I have already heard it said many times that repressions will begin soon in the USSR, in Estonia, that 1937 will pale by comparison.... They say that Soviet troops will shoot all members of the Estonian Popular Front point-blank, without trial.... I have even heard rumors that all Estonians will be wiped from the face of the earth to a man. I have heard this from pensioners, and not just pensioners."

I met with the author of this letter. He is an Estonian Popular Front member. I shall not give his name—there is no point in this case. On what are his fears based? In his letter he does not conceal that they are based on rumors. It is true that he also cites two newspapers. In one there are attacks against the International Movement and the United Council of Labor Collectives as "an antirestructuring and antiparty bloc." In the other there are rumors once again.... The author himself was in fact unable to cite a single instance.

On the other hand there are facts, so to speak, of a different kind. Finnish television broadcast an interview with Tallinn inhabitant T. Kalvet, who declared himself the leader of the "independent volunteer militia." The interview contained inflammatory calls, right up to the threat to use weapons. The Estonian SSR KGB has reported that to prevent dangerous consequences Kalvet has been officially warned.

There is food for thought: Who is going where today and what values are placed above all else?

What are the prospects for the situation's development? Of all my interlocutors it was T. Kalyumyae, sector chief of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, who gave the most optimistic forecast: The crisis is on the wane.

It remains to be hoped that no one in the republic will try to heat the atmosphere again with an unguarded slogan or rash action. We will remember that only mutual trust can destroy the prejudices which have taken shape recently.

This will be an important prerequisite for the consolidation of public movements in the republic for the sake of restructuring, for the sake of the renewal of socialism.

Estonian Popular Front's Veydemann Interviewed

PM2112100088 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 16 Dec 88 p 15

[FINSKA NOTISBYRAN report on interview with Estonian Popular Front leader Reyn Veydemann by unidentified correspondent: "The Popular Front Wants 'Estocommunism'"]

[Text] Helsinki—The Estonia Popular Front has introduced the concept of "Estocommunism" to clarify its political goals. Estocommunism, or the Estonian model, is based on greater freedom of action and takes as its point of departure the special conditions in Estonia.

So said Reyn Veydemann, one of the Popular Front's leaders and chief editor of the Estonian cultural journal VIKERKAAR (THE RAINBOW), in an interview in Helsinki yesterday.

Veydemann, himself a member of the Estonian Communist Party, was strongly critical of the party's former policies. It is understandable that the party made errors and mistakes to begin with, but the fatal thing is that these errors were never put to right, he said.

Veydemann, a literary scholar, cited a long list of events which have led to the current alienation between party and people: how at the beginning of the century the party accepted the use of force to achieve political objectives, the tough sentences which the party leadership had to serve during the period of independence, how the party was turned into a puppet organization in 1940 and was finally virtually destroyed at the 1950 conference in a 90-percent purge.

"Today we are witnessing a slow awakening, which is, however, very difficult and very time-consuming," Veydemann stressed. He spoke of a purification process which is necessary to shake off all the negative overtones with which the very word "communism" has been burdened in the past.

Veydemann is also an advocate of a multiparty system. Only within such a system can the Communist Party demonstrate its superiority, he considers. Nevertheless, he said that the Popular Front, which is a purely political force, is not striving to become a party, but wants instead to work within the Communist Party to renew the party's policies.

According to Veydemann, in order to give concrete form to this renewal, people have begun talking about Estocommunism and defining the special conditions and objectives of which the Estonian Communist Party must take account.

The endeavors to shake off "the schizophrenia of socialism"—the old model of living a triple life: one at home, one at work, and yet another in party contexts—are also part of this renewal, Veydemann said, calling for a uniform common language for use in all situations in the life of society.

Brussels Paper Interviews Kagarlitskiy

PM0612125688 Brussels LE SOIR in French 30 Nov 88 p 1

[Interview with Boris Kagarlitskiy, "one of the founders of the Popular Front," by Nina Bachkatov; date, place not given]

[Text] [Bachkatov] The Popular Front, of which you are one of the founders, is demanding more democracy. Why, then, oppose several points in the new Constitution supposed to ensure this democracy?

[Kagarlitskiy] Because the document submitted to the Supreme Soviet's vote 29 November is a chimera, not a constitution. This is not parliamentarianism; this is not socialism. It is an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable.

[Bachkatov] Gorbachev claims to want, like you, a state based on law characterized by elections with a choice of candidates, monitoring of the executive, and a decentralization of the state. Is this sincere or tactical?

[Kagarlitskiy] We believe in his sincerity; we believe he wants peace and democracy, though we do not choose his methods. However, a new Constitution involves the future. It is not a matter of confidence in a single individual. We do not know who will be in power tomorrow, and his successor must not be able to use a poorly formulated law in order to turn back.

[Bachkatov] Are you thinking of the merger of the posts of general secretary and chairman of the executive?

[Kagarlitskiy] Yes, because it is a huge concentration of power in a single man's hands. It makes even less sense inasmuch as the chairman of the executive is superfluous in a single-party system.

[Bachkatov] What do you mean when you say "we"?

[Kagarlitskiy] "We" means, first and foremost, all the informal groups and certain party members—all those disappointed with restructuring. "We," the Popular Front, are a somewhat more structured sociopolitical group than others. Thousands of people attend our meetings and sign our petitions. However, it is impossible to give figures because we are not a party with membership cards.

[Bachkatov] Is there not a pressing need for party reform?

[Kagarlitskiy] There is a pressing need to combat bureaucracy. We have nothing against bureaucrats as such: Some do a good job, while others are inefficient but harmless. However, there will be no democracy until the apparatus is confined to technical tasks and entirely deprived of political decisionmaking powers.

[Bachkatov] On the eve of this vote, are there any lessons to be learned from the first election with a choice of candidates?

[Kagarlitskiy] It is an important step, but these elections have shown, above all, that our electoral law was not designed for this kind of election. It declares elected any candidate securing 50 percent of the votes. This is difficult when there are several candidates, and many victories could therefore not be registered.

[Bachkatov] Why do you dislike the draft Constitution's provisions on elections?

[Kagarlitskiy] Because it stops half-way. Thus one-third of the chambers will not be directly elected but will be reserved for representatives of the social organizations. This is a way of ensuring at least minimal control by the party and imposing candidates that nobody would elect. Furthermore, a number of technical measures will make it possible to bar the way to awkward candidates.

[Bachkatov] Will the Popular Front take part in the elections?

[Kagarlitskiy] We have individual candidates but the front will not take part in the election campaign as an organization. For this we would have to have been registered as a sociopolitical organization having the status of a union. We are so, as a regional organization in the area where we are active. A deadline—1 October—for registration was set for groups such as us. The operation has been postponed by 6 months, that is, until after the March elections.

[Bachkatov] Do you believe it is wise to postpone the points governing relations between the center and the republics?

[Kagarlitskiy] They must be postponed because they represent a turning back, and several republican parliaments have already rejected them for these reasons.

Gorbunov Comments on Latvian Peoples Forum

LD2012144788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] A forum of the peoples of the republic, as it was called, was held recently in Latvia. Preparations for the forum continued for 2 months, and it functioned for 2 extremely full days. This was an important event in the development of relations between nationalities in Latvia. There are hopes for consolidation and for an improvement in mutual understanding between people of different nationalities living in the republic. Let us listen to a recording we've received from our colleague in Latvia, Alla Tobolnova.

[Begin recording] [Tobolnova] We all know how acute and complex relations between nationalities can be. In order for them not to reach a critical point, we must all, first and foremost, learn to respect the human being in each other, each person's right to think and live in a way different from us, without insulting the dignity and honor of all. We all know that we have to learn to listen to one another, to listen in order to understand. After all, where there is understanding there is no hostility. We say a lot about what we must do, but how can this be done in practice? What are these steps toward each other? In Latvia, they included the Forum of Peoples which was held at the House of Political Education in Riga. After its conclusion, I talked to Anatoliy Valeryanovich Gorbunov, chairman of the forum's organizational committee and chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

So, Anatoliy Valeryanovich, tell me please, to what extent were hopes for the forum justified and in what way?

[Gorbunov] The first and most important task which we set, bearing in mind the situation in the republic, was to step up the process of uniting the peoples of our republic, the national and even ethnic groups which live and work here in Latvia.

[Tobolnova] Only during the forum did I learn what ethnic groups we have.

[Gorbunov] Yes, we have about 17 groups comprising over 800 people. The second thing is that we want to see and feel the mutual interests of people of different nationalities, of national and ethnic groups, and what brings peoples together. Naturally we must develop this and give new impetus to this development. But there are also sore points with regard to peoples. First of all, this has to be clearly understood and...

[Tobolnova, interrupting] Analyzed.

[Gorbunov] Analyzed in the real sense. And if this sore point cannot be completely eliminated, then it must be relieved.

[Tobolnova] Now I would like to ask: What have you understood—you and those who took part in the forum?

[Gorbunov] First, those things connected with the emotional and very important perception of language, culture, and respect from the humanist point of view. Here we understood the following: that we are developing and will continue to develop our language, culture, and traditions not in order to alienate one people from another, but to ensure understanding and the development of our common culture. One can even formulate it thus: unity on the basis of diversity.

The second thing we understood was what we are, what our probelms are, the problems of our common home, Latvia, starting with those main problems—problems of the economy, in the sense of its independence from the national economy, to ensure the efficiency of work, for the sake of the well-being of all peoples; problems of the ecological situation; problems of social justice. And here I think we understood that we are what we are, in other words, with our truths and our falsehoods, with our emotions and dogmas—and I could go on—but we came to a conclusion as a result of this: that no one but we ourselves can solve the problems in our republic.

When we discussed our decision, we delegates had no problems of a nationalist kind. For this reason we began our decision by stating that we are united on the fact that Latvia should develop within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a sovereign republic. We are united that the struggle for democratization and for the humanist values of genuine socialism, proclaimed by the CPSU, is the only way for our society to develop and that there is and can be no return to the times of Stalin's lawlessness and Brezhnev's stagnation. We are united around the fact that mutual concern of all peoples and national groups for each other can be the only stable foundation for satisfying and implementing the rights and needs of any people. [end recording]

Latvian Popular Front 'Step Behind' Estonia

PM1412162488 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 13 Dec 88 p 4

[Bjarne Nitovuori dispatch: "Latvia One Step Behind Estonia"]

[Text] Riga—Latvia always seems to be one step behind Estonia when it comes to demands for greater self-government within the Soviet Union. Estonia has already altered its Constitution, introduced the right to veto Moscow's decisions, and declared Estonian the republic's official language, while Latvia has only reached the stage of formulating such demands. The demands have also been phrased more cautiously than the legal texts already adopted by Estonia.

The "Peoples Forum" which met in Riga over the weekend discussed, among other things, a resolution on Latvian sovereignty and economic autonomy. Discussion of the resolution went on until late in the evening.

The preliminary resolution, drafted under the leadership of Latvian President Anatoliy Gorbunov, contained a demand that Latvian sovereignty be reaffirmed in the USSR Constitution. In Estonia the order of events was that the parliament approved a declaration of sovereignty, which the USSR Supreme Soviet then nullified but which is still considered fully valid by the Estonians.

The Estonians introduced a clause into their Constitution to the effect that their parliament has a right of veto over Soviet laws. In the resolution which the forum in Riga was to approve, nothing is said about a right of veto, but logically sovereignty also means a right of veto.

The resolution also demands legislation stating that natural resources and factory installations in Latvia belong to the republic and are therefore not under the control of the all-union authorities, which are controlled from Moscow.

Another resolution demands measures against the environmental damage being done in the country. This demand is closely linked with the endeavors to achieve economic and political autonomy. Environmental damage in Latvia is far advanced chiefly because Moscow has located environmentally dangerous industries in Latvia, taken away the products produced by them, but left the pollution behind in the republic. If the environmental problems are to be solved, the decisionmaking power must be transferred to Latvia.

The People Forum in Riga was organized by the country's political leadership. The forum can perhaps be seen as the Communist Party's response to the Popular

Front and as an attempt to wrest the initiative in the political process in Latvia from the Popular Front, Tautas Fronte. The front enjoys strong support among the people, but its demands are far too radical for the party.

The Popular Front's weakness is its small support among Russians and other non-Latvians, who total about half of the population. The Communist Party exploited this weakness by convening a forum with a national platform. The aim of the forum was to gather representatives of the various nationalities and unite them behind demands sufficiently progressive to satisfy the majority of the population, but sufficiently watered down to be compatible with the party's line and thus to guarantee the party the leading role in the renewal process.

If the leadership in Latvia is one step behind the Estonian leadership, it seems on the other hand that the groups demanding total independence are stronger in Latvia than in Estonia. The movement demanding independence for Latvia is said to be one of the three strongest new movements in the country. The other two are the Popular Front and the Greens.

On Sunday, 4 December three young Latvians began a hunger strike in Riga to demand an end to the "Soviet occupation" of the country.

The three—Atis Sevisko, 21; Yanis Klavins, 18; and Yanis Legzdins, 19—intend to remain on hunger strike until Christmas. After that others will take over and the idea is that the hunger strike will continue until the occupation is over.

There has been criticism of the action, even within the independence movement. Some people take the view that it is tactically unwise to begin a hunger strike at the present time. Later it would be possible to involve a larger number of people in such an action, making it more effective.

The hunger strikers themselves have responded by saying that it is better to begin with a few people who are really able to meet the challenge than with a larger group, some of whom could be forced to break off their hunger strike.

Riga Meeting Opposes Anti-Industrial Moves

PM0712164188 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 30 Nov 88 p 6

["Statement" issued by meeting of representatives of a number of industrial enterprises and organizations in Riga city]

[Text] In November 1988 an action group meeting of leaders and chairmen of the labor collective councils of a number of industrial enterprises and organizations in Riga city was held. The meeting expressed the labor collectives' deep concern at the specific ways taken to resolve the very urgent political, socioeconomic, cultural, environmental, and migrational problems in the republic. Party, state, and social organizations have been adopting decisions and resolutions on these questions directly or indirectly affecting the fate and interests of industry in Soviet Latvia. With regard to industrial enterprises, whose profit represents more than 50 percent of the republic's total national income, a number of administrative injunctions and restrictive sanctions are proposed whose implementation may lead to the disorganization of production, the reduction of production volumes, and in a number of cases the closure of enterprises. The result will be mass redundancies among working people in industry for whom the resolutions in question provide neither alternative employment nor vocational guidance. The consequences of these decisions are a matter of concern to hundreds of thousands of industrial workers and the members of their families.

Representatives of the republic's industrial enterprises were not involved in any way in formulating such vitally important documents as the resolutions on the priority of agriculture, measures to halt the mechanical growth of the population in the Latvian SSR, and so forth.

The situation which has been created compels the labor collectives of industrial enterprises to make the following points:

1. There must be a detailed concept and thorough technical and economic validation of the development of industry as the most important basis of the republic's economic development. It is the conviction of all the participants in the action group meeting that without an extensive program of that kind, based on economic collaboration between enterprises and the national economic complex of the republic and the country, there cannot be a valid solution of the problems of the economic sovereignty, migration, ecology, or social development of Soviet Latvia. The repesentatives of industrial enterprises must unfailingly be involved in elaborating such a program.

2. It is necessary and expedient to form an association of the republic's industrial enterprises as an organization defending the rights and interests of enterprises' labor collectives in the process of restructuring political, economic, social, and other relations. An organizing committee has been set up at the conference to implement this decision.

3. The organizing committee for the creation of the association of the republic's industrial enterprises is to publish this statement in the republic's press and bring it to the attention of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

Lithuania's Brazauskas on Sajudis, Reform Laws

PM2112163588 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 6 Dec 88 pp 1, 2

[ELTA report: "Vilnius City Party Conference"]

[Excerpts] Over 43,000 Communists, united in 912 party organizations, work in various spheres of the production, scientific, cultural, medical, and other activity of the republic's capital.

The report and election meetings and rayon conferences that have already been held have discussed in detail what has been done to accelerate restructuring in each labor collective, rayon, and city, and what tasks remain to be resolved in the immediate future. The finale in this important campaign was the 25th Vilnius City party conference, held 2 December in the Lithuanian SSR State Academy Drama Theater.

The report at the conference was delivered by K. Zaletskas, first secretary of Vilnius Lithuanian Communist Party Gorkom. [passage omitted]

A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a speech at the conference. [passage omitted]

Glasnost is in practice the primary and main motive force of the processes of restructuring, which is gripping society from top to bottom. The people have begun to hear the truth. It is sometimes unaccustomed, but that cannot be helped—it is our own truth, not "imported" truth. We must experience, comprehend, and realize all of this.

In a comparatively short period of this year practically all strata of Lithuania's population were roused and sucked into an unprecedented vortex of political activeness. Events developed so swiftly that for a while, for quite a long time, party organizations, party gorkoms and raykoms, and even the Central Committee were unable to keep pace with them. The public and progressive representatives of it from among the intelligentsia raised a multitude of acute problems long overdue for solution. These included the questions of the republic's economic autonomy and sovereignty, ecology, national awareness, language, national symbols, and others. Many of these questions have now been solved; others are being solved.

At the same time we have to see that this swift development of events was unfeasible without hasty, insufficiently thought-out, and not altogether correct opinions and practical actions that caused a number of negative phenomena. Ideological evolution accelerated in some people's minds, an erosion of our society's main values began, and people began to assess our socialist gains from a nihilistic standpoint.

Today it is clear to everyone that we cannot implement restructuring without unity of action. The most important things now are consolidation and the unity of all healthy forces in society, especially the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring. What is needed for this is a calm, well thought-out dialogue based on realism and political common sense and directed toward the socialist renewal of Lithuania. This must be our main path.

I have been handed a few specific questions. What are the relations of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government with "Sajudis" like? Here is what I can say in reply to that. The time of the development of our relations is still very short. But nevertheless, many good joint decisions have been adopted. I hope that relations with "Sajudis" will be normal in the future, just as they have been hitherto. Of course, the last Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session caused some disharmony between us and "Sajudis." But I want to say again that the decision at the session which was publicly protested by the "Sajudis" Sejm Council, in my profound conviction—and not only mine but, as far as I can tell, that of the entire republican aktiv; after the session we received a great many reactions from party and public organizations, collectives, individuals, and families—was correct. Although during the session some of the republic's population did condemn this decision, which I proposed, clearly there are still people who subscribe to this day to the same opinion, that we ought to have adopted other, unrealistic decisions, the kind of decisions that practice shows yield no tangible benefit. I think our course, the course we are following now, is a path of consistent progress on all questions of political and economic life, a path of strengthening the republic's political and cultural sovereignty and of consistently and skillfully putting forward questions of economic autonomy and resolving them in the appropriate union organs, and this path can yield much greater benefits than open confrontation.

This week I have attended a very important CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet session. The constitutional amendments adopted at the session have evoked great public reaction throughout the Soviet Union. This is felt particularly sharply in our republic. We expressed our essential [kontsentrirovannyy] opinion about the draft amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution by passing on to the country's supreme organ of power the relevant decisions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium also received 1.8 million signatures from residents of our republic. You have all read or heard the speech of Comrade V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. In my view, it was one of the most vivid speeches, like that of our neighbor A. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It can be hoped that in just a few minutes the mood of our delegation was fully conveyed to the country's supreme authority. Our deputies also expressed their opinion by other means. This makes it possible to hope that their principledness attained its objective.

Why do I think that? During these days in Moscow I was able to meet and talk with several Politburo members and answer their questions about the resolutions adopted and not adopted by our supreme soviet. From my conversations and private discussions I realized that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the country's leadership are very well aware of what the present situation is like in individual republics. The recent trips by Politburo members to the Baltic republics also yielded quite good results. The very fact that questions of the republics' economic autonomy and sovereignty are now being studied with the utmost seriousness essentially at the highest level is very indicative. On the whole, Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's proposal and the Supreme Soviet's decision to create a special working group on improving relations between the center and the republics—a question not envisaged on the agenda—which is to include deputies from all republics, is also encouraging. I would say that this group, in which specialists—economists, sociologists, jurists—will take part, will examine point by point the whole spectrum of the powers of the union and the republics. There was serious discussion of revising the USSR Constitution, or maybe of preparing a new constitution. This question seems to us to be particularly urgent, as we have been among the first in the country to prepare a draft republican constitution, or to be more accurate, the first to do so with the participation of a very wide range of specialists, including the "Sajudis" aktiv. A special deputies parliamentary commission to examine this draft constitution was set up at our last session. I think we have taken a very great step. We must gather all our strength, energy, and knowledge for this work. I think that the creation of such a group at the union level must be assessed very favorably, for we, as one of the union republics, will be able to put forward all the questions that perturb our residents—both the party organization, nonparty people, "Sajudis," and other social organizations created recently. Things have gotten moving. We all (I am referring to the republic's leadership and the Central Committee) must make very good use of the favorable political situation prevailing in the country. I would even say: of the dialogue that was initiated at the last plenum and during the Supreme Soviet session.

Of course, we are greatly perturbed and concerned about national relations. As you know, they are already being discussed—very serious preparations are beginning for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on this issue. But we cannot wait for the plenum and the decisions of the plenum, which is to be held in 6 months. Both for the Central Committee and for the city party organization—and the issue of national relations is especially topical in Vilnius—there is a great deal of very serious work to do in its sphere. Thus perturbed, worried words about this topic have been spoken from the conference rostrum. Here I have also been asked: What is your attitude toward "Yedinstvo"? Any initiative on the part of our population must be supported. It doesn't matter whether they are Lithuanians or people of another nationality. As for "Sajudis," we have already expressed our opinion and will continue to cooperate with it and to resolve questions together, though it would be nice if gentlemanly, humane, principled, and friendly relations were established between us.

"Yedinstvo" has only just been organized and is taking its first steps. It may still not have fully formulated its program. But certain strata of the republic's population are welcoming this movement in advance, as it were. Today, in this hall, it occurred to me that it would be very nice if "Yedinstvo" found its place alongside "Sajudis," whose program includes some truly fine words about the people's unity and respect for other peoples. They are very correct words, and I support them. "Sajudis" and "Yedinstvo" have many aims in common. We must always seek points of contact rather than beginning with confrontation. In creating an active sociopolitical movement we must seek not opposite poles, but what unites us. Thus the Lithuanian Culture Fund has been able to find a common language. It has done much to consolidate and make accessible the cultural legacy of all our republic's peoples. Political activity must develop in the same way.

Since I have talked a great deal about politics, allow me to say a few words about Vilnius and the problems of which there has been little mention here today. Not much has been said about economic activity. Nevertheless, I would like to discuss a few economic issues. I will begin with construction, primarily housing construction. The basic figures for construction have already been cited here, and the required volumes have been mentioned. What influence is this having on immigration from other regions of the country? This question also deserves close attention. I think we must regard it as a factor complicating the situation with regard to the resolution of housing questions and other social problems. We have already instructed the Lithuanian SSR State Committee for Statistics and other organizations to examine the basic causes of this phenomenon and analyze the contingent of migrants. I think that, together with the Council of Ministers, serious thought should be given to solving this problem, and an appropriate resolution should be adopted. [passage omitted]

Vilnius on Distortions in Central Press

LD1612103288 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Today in Lithuania Rimas Saulys, a Vilnius radio correspondent, reports on problems of the Lithuanian and all union press. [passage omitted]

[Saulys] The growing interest in the press among the readers is a fact one could only rejoice about were it not for one or two disquieting signs. But let me give you the facts, perhaps. At the very heart of what is termed by Western media as ethnic violence in the republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan, MOSCOW NEWS, which is now one of the most popular weeklies in this country, ran the following caption on its first page: The Baltic and

Transcaucasian Republics: MOSCOW NEWS Correspondents Unravel the Situation in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, pages 2, 10, 13.

And now let's have a look at the concrete articles. Page 2 carries the story of a young Soviet Army officer who died while trying to defend from a violent crowd an Armenian section of the town of Kirovobad. [passage omitted]

What about Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia? By the time one gets to page 13, street clashes and nationalist pogroms are the least one expects to find there, bearing in mind the front page captions: that is what an ignorant reader living outside the Baltic region might expect to find. Because if one lives here, one of course knows very well that nothing near it has been happening in the Baltic republics. And surely enough, no such things are reported on page 13. What about page 1 caption then? Why put stories about ethnic violence and refugees in the Transcaucasian republics and parliamentary debate and peaceful rallies in the Baltic region under the same heading?

I wouldn't perhaps bother so much were it not a couple of recent articles in Lithuanian press dealing with the problems of unbiased reporting. So, the student's paper of Vilnius University has recently pointed out that PRAVDA, while reporting from Latvia in its issue of 18 November, refers to the Russian language paper SOVIET LATVIYA, published in Riga.

Although it said it was quoting from the particular issue of the Latvian paper, PRAVDA seemed to have distorted not only the name of the person interviewed in the source publication but also the essence of the quotation itself. The article was devoted to the National Front of Latvia.

Three days ago another Lithuanian newspaper, the official party daily TIESA spoke about an article in the Soviet Army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, THE RED STAR, in which the latter told its multimillion body of readers in the Soviet Army a story of a Polish woman who had allegedly been refused medical aid at a Vilnius clinic on the grounds that she did not speak Lithuanian.

Having carefully checked the details, the authors of the TIESA article have come to the conclusion that the allegation was totally groundless. In other words the Army paper had, putting it mildly, twisted the facts. [passage omitted]

Of late, however, certain tendencies have appeared in the central press while reporting on the situation in the individual union republics which cannot but raise doubts about some of the authors living up to the standard.

Ukraine Obkoms Hold Election Conferences

AU1512130788 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY
in Russian 11 Dec 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "At Oblast Party Conferences"]

[Text] The results of the work done in the period under review and the tasks to implement the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference were discussed at accountability and election conferences held 9-10 December in Volyn, Voroshilovgrad, Zhitomir, Transcarpathian, Ivano-Frankovsk, Lvov, Nikolayev, Poltava, Rovno, Ternopol, Kherson, and Khmelnitskiy Oblast party organizations.

The conference proceedings were attended and addressed by V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, in Lvov; I.G. Grintsov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, in Nikolayev; Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, in Rovno; B.V. Kachura, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, in Kherson; Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, in Lutsk; V.A. Sologub, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Trade Unions Council Chairman, in Ivano-Frankovsk; S.I. Gurenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary, in Voroshilovgrad; V.D. Kryuchkov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary, in Poltava; and Yu. A. Kolomiyets, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member, Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, and State Agro-Industrial Committee chairman, in Ternopol.

The conference in Uzhgorod was addressed by M.V. Gayevoy, Party Control Commission chairman in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; that in Zhitomir, by L.M. Kravchuk, chief of the Ideological Department in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; and that in Khmelnitskiy, by Ye.R. Chulakov, chief of the Agrarian Department in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

V.I. Nakonechnyy, sector chief in the Party Construction and Cadre Work Department of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the proceedings of Transcarpathian Oblast party conference.

The conference proceedings were also attended by other responsible officials of the CPSU and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committees, as well as by leaders of a number of ministries and departments.

A new composition of obkoms and auditing commissions in oblast party organizations was elected.

Obkom plenums were held to examine organizational issues.

In Volyn Obkom, L.I. Pavlenko was elected first secretary; V.I. Blazhenchuk, second secretary; S.A. Kupriyanov, I.M. Petruk, and I.I. Furiv, secretaries.

In Voroshilovgrad Obkom, I.A. Lyakhov was elected first secretary; N.M. Popov, second secretary; N.P. Zhusova, O.I. Kotlyar, and S.G. Okopnyy, secretaries.

In Zhitomir Obkom, V.M. Kavun was elected first secretary; V.A. Kobylyanskiy, second secretary; N.I. Ivanova, I.A. Lazyuta, and P.P. Polishchuk, secretaries.

In Transcarpathian Obkom, G.I. Bandrovskiy was elected first secretary; V.S. Yaroshovets, second secretary; V.V. Vasilyev, V. A. Kuratchenko, and S.M. Turyanitsa, secretaries.

In Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, I.G. Postoronko was elected first secretary; Ye.A. Novitskiy, second secretary; P.F. Dembitskiy, A.D. Zazulchak, and A.G. Panchenko, secretaries.

In Lvov Obkom, Ya.P. Pogrebnyak was elected first secretary; V.N. Borisyuk, second secretary; M.G. Vasyliv, L.N. Voznyuk, and V.Ye. Goncharuk, secretaries.

In Nikolayev Obkom, L.G. Sharayev was elected first secretary; A.F. Gordiyenko, second secretary; I.T. Gritsay, A.M. Potapenko, and G.M. Tazaracheva, secretaries.

In Poltava Obkom, A.S. Myakota was elected first secretary; A.I. Kovinko, second secretary; M.V. Bernatskiy, V.P. Blinov, and P.I. Matviyenko, secretaries.

In Rovno Obkom, T.I. Panasenko was elected first secretary; V.I. Lutsenko, second secretary; A.A. Popik, K.K. Serykh, and N.P. Tkachuk, secretaries.

In Ternopol Obkom, V.Ye. Ostrozhinskiy was elected first secretary; V.N. Shemchuk, second secretary; M.Ye. Babiy, V.I. Yermakova, and I.K. Polovinko, secretaries.

In Kherson Obkom, M.M. Kushnerenko was elected first secretary; A.I. Kasyanenko, second secretary; P.I. Laznik, G.I. Nayda, and V.V. Prozorova, secretaries.

In Khmelnitskiy Obkom, V.G. Dikusarov was elected first secretary; V.I. Kupratyy, second secretary; P.I. Mazharov, N.A. Rudyuk, and I.Ya. Sakhan, secretaries.

With a moment's silence, the conference delegates paid tribute to the memory of the victims of the natural disaster in the Armenian SSR and resolved to transfer a part of their personal savings to the fund for the victims.

New Dnepropetrovsk Obkom First Secretary

LD1412124788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1122 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 14 Dec (TASS)—A plenum of the Ukraine's Dnepropetrovsk party obkom has been held to examine an organizational matter. In connection with Vladimir Ivashko's election to the post of second secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, the plenum released him from his duties as first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk party okbom. Nikolay Zadoya, who has been working as second secretary of the party obkom, was elected first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk party obkom.

Commission Examines Citizens' Rehabilitation

AU1212162288 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 8 Dec 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo Commission for the Supplementary Examination of Materials Concerning the Repressions Which Took Place on the Republic's Territory in the Thirties, Forties, and Early Fifties"]

[Text] The commission set up by the 13 September 1988 decision of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has listened to and discussed the information delivered by the Ukrainian SSR Procurator's Office and Supreme Court on the progress made in examining materials concerning the rehabilitation of citizens who were repressed without grounds in the past.

It was noted that, acting on the protests presented by the Ukrainian SSR Procurator's Office and oblast procurator's offices, in the current year the courts have rehabilitated 1,104 citizens. Experienced and qualified functionaries have been commissioned to examine and study the materials. The judicial organs have adopted the decision on rehabilitation strictly in line with the requirements of socialist legality. The question of reinstating rehabilitated former CPSU members in the party is now under examination.

One has taken into consideration the fact that the republic's procurator's office and state security committee have intensified their work to reexamine cases belonging to the aforesaid category, and that they are now studying materials concerning persons sentenced by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court in proceedings against the so-called "Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine," headed by S.A. Yefremov, former vice president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences.

The results of the reexamination of these and other materials will be published in the press.

The commission is continuing its work.

Children in Ukrainian City Afflicted by Disease

LD2112052488 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Kiev December 20 TASS—More than 160 children from the western Ukrainian city of Chernovtsy, found to be suffering from a mysterious disease, arrived in a sanatorium near the Ukrainian capital Kiev today for medical rehabilitation.

They were followed by their mothers. Earlier on, the kids had been treated at clinics in Moscow and Kiev.

"The specialty of the sanatorium Ukraina was changed at the government's decision early in autumn after the news of the mysterious disease in Chernovtsy," said Anatoliy Kartysh of the Ukrainian Health Ministry.

"Thorough clinical tests are being carried out here. Mothers who have been through very stressful times are under observation, too. The stay in the sanatorium is free of charge."

Specialists believe that the disease was caused by the enhanced content of thallium in the atmosphere and soil. This metal, certain doses of which may cause acute and chronic poisoning, might have been brought to Chernovtsy by the acid rains that fell on the city last July.

Dozens of children aged up to 14 had fallen ill. The kids lost their hair, had nervous and mental troubles, including fretfulness and hallucinations.

Kartysh observed that all conditions had been created at the sanatorium for the children and mothers to become stronger after the course of treatment.

Teachers have been invited to hold classes in the sanatorium.

Commission Findings Published

AU0912151788 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 4 Dec 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "The Situation in Chernovtsy Normalizes"]

[Text] The government commission studying the causes of Chernovtsy children's disease and the measures taken to eliminate its effects has prepared and passed to the press a report on its findings. The commission is headed by Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers first deputy chairman.

According to the report, the first notifications by parents of children's disease accompanied by alopecia were filed in September 1988. The number of sick children, which constantly increased in the second fortnight of September, and the thorough examination of the clinical situation made it possible to ascertain an unusual illness registered for the first time in the experience of medical establishments. The number of patients totaled 132.

The laboratory, functional, and diagnostic research carried out in the clinics of Moscow, Kiev, and Chernovtsy confirmed unusual changes in the organisms of the patients, changes that indicated the exogenous effect of chemical factors. In a number of cases, the samples showed the existence of thallium, aluminum, selenium, boron, and other substances.

The comprehensive treatment prescribed for those affected from the very beginning has proved effective. The neuroses occurring in the earlier stages have ceased, alopecia has stopped, and a tendency toward renewed growth of hair has appeared.

Nearly 200 specialists, a group of experts from the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR Ministries of Health, the USSR and Ukrainian SSR Academies of Sciences, the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control, various ministries and departments, and 46 research institutes have been engaged in discovering the causes of the disease.

The government commission has drawn up a number of measures to eliminate the causes of the disease. Four specialized centers have been set up in the city to determine the amounts of thallium and other heavy elements in the environment. Children have been provided with a set of necessary drugs. The "Ukraina" sanatorium near Kiev has switched over to the further rehabilitation of recovering patients, preventive checkups have been organized for children and teenagers, and this has made it possible to diagnose the sickness in its early stages.

To improve the feeding of the population, and primarily of children, the republic's government has allocated additional funds for food, and free feeding for children and teenagers has been organized, at special request, at boarding houses and general-education schools.

Four sanatorium-type preschool establishments have opened in Chernovtsy to keep 900 children in the so-called risk group under around-the-clock medical observation.

In a thorough examination of the city's territory, some "spots" have been found with an elevated level of thallium and other heavy-metal compounds in the upper layers of the soil. The analysis of sewage discharged by a number of enterprises in Chernovtsy, Lvov, and Ivano-Frankovsk Oblasts has also revealed a raised level of thallium.

The government commission has accepted the conclusion of a group of experts that the source of thallium occurring in the environment most probably lies in one single unauthorized discharge of it into the air and water, and partially also in air pollution caused by enterprises and road traffic.

Steps have been taken to prevent the effects of negative environmental factors on man. For this purpose, a team of 1,500-12,000 persons, 300-400 motor vehicles, and 90 sprinkling and gathering machines have been in daily operation. All enterprises, backyards, roofs, basements, city parks, squares, and banks of water reservoirs have been cleaned. Paved streets in the city have been washed up to five times.

The repeated checkups showed that the amount of thallium in the soil, where it was elevated, had dropped by a factor of 3-6, and did not exceed the biochemical background. In selective checkups, heavy metals have not been detected in the snow cover.

As a result of the measures taken, the ecological conditions in the city have normalized. In the second fortnight of November, new cases of disease caused by chemical factors were not recorded, and the health conditions of hospitalized children was satisfactory.

Operations aimed at improving the environment are continuing.

RSFSR Council of Ministers Meets 19 Dec

PM2012121188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Work on implementing one of the priority tasks set by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference—resolving the food problem—is being carried out consistently in the RSFSR. On 28 October 1988 the RSFSR Council of Ministers adopted the resolution "On Measures To Increase Production and Improve the Supply of Foodstuffs to the RSFSR Population in 1988-1990," in which it defined a program for increasing food production.

At a regular session held on 19 December the RSFSR Council of Ministers examined the question of practical measures to implement the adopted program in light of the demands and tasks set at the conference in the city of Orel 14-15 November 1988.

The session was addressed by A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Yakovlev in Perm on 'Development Crisis'

PM2112093188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Increasing Responsibility for the Course of Restructuring"]

[Text] Perm, 16 Dec—Dissatisfaction with the pace of restructuring and the realization of the region's potential were the main themes of the oblast party conference which opened here today.

Taking part in the conference was A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegates noted that hundreds of production and social facilities have been commissioned in the oblast in the current 5-year plan including capacities for the production of large electrical machines and plastic-coated products, the four Yamburg-Center-Western border gas pipelines, two 800,000 kw power units at the Perm GRES, and a whole series of other production units. Even though the oblast has coped with the profit plan for the first time in many years, there can be no question of a radical economic reform. Party committees, the administration, and labor collective councils have failed to remove one of the main obstacles to the introduction of economic accountability—deep-rooted parasitism, wage leveling, and the confidence that, no matter how badly an enterprise works, the state will pay the wages.

V.A. Zaykov, milling machine operator at the V.I. Lenin machine-building plant; R.A. Abzalov, chairman of the "Chayka" kolkhoz in Uinskiy Rayon; V.I. Tatarchuk, director of the Solikamsk pulp and paper combine; M.P. Kotelnikova, director of the Chermozskaya secondary school in Ilinskiy Rayon; and others said frankly that many party organizations are failing to keep pace with the dynamic development of social processes and some of them were taken aback by the novelty of phenomena and the diversity of the opinions and emotions which surfaced. A considerable proportion of leading cadres were not prepared for work in conditions of the expanding democratization of social life. Fundamental changes have not been achieved in people's working and living conditions and the social programs that have been adopted are being implemented too slowly.

Delegates stressed that the main task today is not slogan mongering but action. The new stage of restructuring is a stage of strenuous practical work in all areas.

A.N. Yakovlev addressed the conference participants. He said, in particular: Since April 1985 we have been living and working in a unique atmosphere, implementing an evolving revolution.

Today our society and the party are sharply critical of the times of authoritarianism and stagnation and realize with distress how much was lost. It is clear that we could have moved faster, lived purer and more honest lives, and worked better. We were hindered by arrogance, a belief in our own infallibility, and deformations which, once tolerated, developed in the political and economic structure, in people's mentality and habits, in social consciousness, and in scientific dogmas.

Until now the conservative principle in the consciousness of surely every one of us has resisted the idea that we were not as perfect, not as irreproachable as it seemed to us for so long and was impressed on us. A longing for the old inner spiritual comfort has until now prevented some people from fully seeing the goals and scale of restructuring.

The development of a socialist society is not a simple or one-dimensional phenomenon. It is always multifarious and permits a multitude of specific developments, forms, and details within the framework of a single formation. We know that in the past this multifarious nature was rejected and could be punished, sometimes with the most dire consequences. Meanwhile, deformations occurred in Soviet society's development in the late twenties and early thirties—deformations which are now holding our progress back and fettering our thoughts and actions.

A most important theoretical and political question is often asked today: Is the product of restructuring really socialist? We shall try to examine this question because it is very important for an understanding of our development and for our unity.

Democracy, glasnost, the cooperative system, leasing, economic accountability, commodity-money relations, the socialist market, self-management, people's power, pluralism of opinions—all this has become a powerful part of our life, it disturbs life, sometimes it stops people sleeping or resting, and it fuels passions and sharp emotions, but it also creates new and real contradictions.

We talk about the formation of new economic relations, but they are bogged down in the old structural routine, the tenacious command system, and conservatism. Mismanagement is our scourge. Were we poorer, perhaps we would be better organized. Our wealth has made us poor, it has spoilt us, it generates laziness and irresponsibility. That is why nature must be treated rationally and thriftily, otherwise it will punish us severely.

We talk about political transformations, but how hard it is to break with the old power to which we have become accustomed. We still cannot see that true people's power will be far more durable, stable, and of course more responsible. We are still afraid of democracy, glasnost, and a diversity of opinions as though each of us always lives in harmony with himself and always thinks in convenient cliches. Can someone really be called a man if he does not have his own opinion and does not feel his innate freedom of thought. We are frightened of the cost of democracy, sometimes a very real cost. But does spring not purify the earth and, on the other hand, is the eternal truth vouchsafed to us alone?

We talk about spiritual rebirth and moral cleansing, but we are still highly suspicious of those spiritual battles which go on among young people and the intelligentsia, the working class and the peasantry. Not all of us understand yet that socialism is a society of freedom and creativity, the flowering of science and culture, the exaltation of man, and the healing of the spiritually sick man and society by morality and culture.

When defining the new social system, A.N. Yakovlev went on to say, the Marxist-Leninist classics most often used the concepts of "rationality," "well-being," "the individual," and "happiness." They saw the character of socialism primarily in the liberation of social relations from all that was unnatural, harmful to man and society, and incompatible with the normal ideas of good and evil, morality and justice.

Socialism as a world phenomenon is still only just emerging from its youth and is entering the age of maturity. Our universities have been difficult and harsh. But today we are sufficiently wise to see the inevitable errors of youth and to correctly assess its inexperience, its directness, and its tendency toward simplified answers and straightforward ideas. We also see and understand that Soviet society and world socialism, too, are now experiencing a particular development crisis.

Socialism is on a secure footing and has accumulated impressive initial potential. It has come far enough in its development for its production forces to need new relations in society. This realization was late in coming, and the practical results were even later. The result—a brake on socioeconomic development. This is also a development crisis which assumed the form of stagnation.

Socialism is not just a matter of the unadorned declaration of ideals and principles. After all, many of its ideals were formulated by mankind thousands of years ago. Socialism is not just a fine social scheme: History has known a great many utopias.

Restructuring is not just an appeal to new formulas and decisions but an appeal which asks the question: What will they give to the working man, the people, the country, and socialism? What will they mean, in the sense not only of increasing short-term wealth but also of preserving nature and improving social relations? Because it is strange to think it possible to raise a comprehensively developed individual against a backdrop of economic absurdities, negative social phenomena, and nature that is going to ruin.

Of course, it is clear to every realistically minded person that society at the moment is still paying the debt for the past, and this has proved a most difficult matter.

Housing? It will take more than a year or two to turn basement apartments and shacks into palaces, and that is scant comfort to those in need of housing.

Food? The established principles of economic management on the land failed to resolve the food problem and have become obsolete. Thus it is necessary to change economic relations in the countryside and make fundamental adjustments to investment policy.

Goods? As long as the money supply exceeds the supply of goods, the shelves in the stores will remain empty. Therefore, it is necessary to use every means to increase the production of goods and services.

Why, then, are these blatantly obvious initiatives dictated by life itself finding it so incredibly difficult to gain acceptance? What is preventing the new rights and principles and radically different priorities from becoming a concrete fact?

It may be stated, albeit with many reservations, that you cannot restore normal economic circulation if you bypass or circumvent the socialist market. Today's problems in the market are an alarm signal. Lenin's call to "learn how to trade" is acquiring new significance today. This means training in economic management in the narrow and broad senses. In the socialist market a vast number of satisfied needs develops into a vote of confidence and gives our society's foundations the necessary resistance against upheavals.

The evolution of Lenin's views after 1921, the CPSU Central Committee secretary went on, constantly moved toward the gradual recognition of the fact that socialism is a society with commodity production, a market, competition, foreign currency, democracy, and so forth. Lenin provides the following scheme: "Freedom of trade a) for the development of the productive forces of the peasant economy b) for the development of small-scale industry and c) for the struggle against bureaucracy."

Lenin wrote in his work "On the Cooperative System": There was much that was fantastic in the dreams of the old cooperativists. Now much of what was fantastic, even romantic, even vulgar in the dreams of the old cooperativists is becoming the most unadorned reality."

Why the cooperative system?

Because it represents that system of coordinates which can most effectively combine and harmonize the individual interest with the collective interest, the collective interest with the state interest, and the state interest with society's interest. And finally, it has the ability to answer the main question—to remove the ruinous system of wage leveling and achieve payment according to labor. Without this the building of socialism is just a utopia, without it society and man, alienated from ownership and power, inevitably become nothing more than an appendage of the state. The state cannot introduce payment according to labor—that is pure utopia. Only the developed socialist market will be able to do that. Without it we shall continue to be dominated by the quotas, shortages, restrictions, bans, and official instructions which actually support the braking mechanism.

Characterizing the internal contradictions of restructuring, A.N. Yakovlev stressed that the necessary feedback at all stages and levels of the management of society's life has in many cases been interrupted and in many others does not exist at all.

Hence the need for a restructuring of political relations. The main directions of the political reform are democratization, glasnost, the rule of law, and responsibility. Taken together they represent the socialist self-management of the people.

The country and society have now reached the point where a new life is beginning for the soviets. Three questions will be of special, crucial significance here. They are: the confidence of the masses; the character of everyday links with them; and the soviets' actual potential and deeds.

Confidence is born only of practical deeds. When necessary, the soviet must be able to go against departmental interests. In so doing it must be able to count on the support of party organs and organizations. The soviet must have a good material foundation. At the moment it does not.

The political reform also raises such problems as individual leadership. This point was raised at the 19th all-union party conference. Restructuring makes new demands on the individual, the qualities of the leader, and the procedure for selecting him. If the right to lead people is not acquired through rank or inheritance but is given to the leader by the people themselves, that is democracy, that is the prestige of power, the prestige of the party. Prestige that has been earned, furthermore.

The party chief who looks for leaders of that kind, who tries to establish working relations with them, and relies on them in all things is right, twice right, thrice right. Without abandoning principles, of course, or degenerating into conflict or a clash of egos.

A.N. Yakovlev dwelt on the tasks facing the Perm Oblast party organization and the course of restructuring in the oblast. These tasks are great, diverse, and complex. With hand on heart it must be admitted that all the practical work is still ahead, particularly with regard to man, the social sphere, and the satisfaction of people's most urgent and generally speaking still quite modest needs. The oblast's potential is great in this respect, but it is being poorly and uneconomically used. There is much evidence of that.

One must wholeheartedly agree with those speakers who insisted, the speaker said, that there be greater exactingness toward those who are in charge of some specific task and toward those officials who are wide-eyed when they read or hear criticism but whose sight fails them when they have to see errors in the sphere of their own responsibility. This is a great, fundamental question of restructuring.

This is an important area of party work. The restructuring of the apparatus—the party and the state apparatus—is aimed at that. When we talk about contradictions in restructuring, unresolved tasks, and hopes not yet realized, we are obliged, as members of a ruling party, to make demands on ourselves. We are answerable for everything.

Only Communists' activeness, only movement forward along the path of restructuring, democracy, and social transformations can guarantee the party's vanguard role: its ability to criticize and be self-critical, the realism and soberness of evaluations, modesty and the rejection of self-deception, and sincere service to the people. The people judge us today by reality and the truth, by the criteria of decency and honesty, conscience, and the ability to understand the people's sorrows, anxieties, and hopes. The party, I am convinced, will pass the historic test it has set itself. I am confident that the Perm party organization will pass that test too, the speaker said.

A.N. Yakovlev went on to dwell on some questions of international life and the CPSU's foreign policy. Restructuring is approaching a qualitatively new point here, too.

These questions were closely analyzed at the 27th CPSU Congress. Many of M.S. Gorbachev's speeches have been devoted to those questions, including his recent speech to delegates of the UN General Assembly. Our answer to these questions is the new political thinking. What are its main features and distinguishing characteristics?

First, its appeal to all the new and promising features that distinguishe the modern world, make it unique, and determine its most likely development trends.

Second, the fact that the new political thinking highlights the idea of development in the most direct and immediate form.

Third, the fact that the new political thinking reconsiders in depth all the traditions of the policy of strength and goes far beyond its confines. The correlation of mankind's social forces today is such that it is possible to view as particularly feasible the task of eradicating military forms and violence from mutual relations among countries and peoples. And to replace them with political and legal forms for resolving contradictions and conflicts.

It would be fundamentally wrong to reduce the problem of common human interests and values simply to tasks of survival. There are far more complex tasks after that: the organization of international life on just, reasonable, and rational principles. The organization of a nuclear-free world which must learn how to resolve its problems peacefully, taking account of the interests of all the sides involved.

Will that resultant nuclear-free world be firmly divided by the artificial barriers of group interests and egoism? Or will effective ways be found to combine each country's and people's "ego" and inalienable right to choose with the ability to take account of others and find a common language? That will be the realization of the common human principle in history.

What is the meaning of the concept of common humanity today, in its purely concrete sense? It means: Preventing nuclear war. Halting the dangerous degradation of nature. Depriving reaction of such weapons as the ability to set peoples against one another. Feeding the hungry, healing the sick, teaching the uneducated. Preventing the shock waves of crises from which millions of ordinary people suffer. Ensuring socioeconomic development, eliminating backwardness, promoting the progress of science and culture and the exchange of real spiritual values, and protecting mankind's moral sphere from decay and poison.

That is the real meaning of common human interests today. Which of them is contrary to the ideals and goals of socialism?—not one! Which of them is contrary to the interests of the working class?—not one! Which of them is contrary to the interests of our country and world socialism?—again, not one!

On the contrary, the better, more fully and reliably each or all of these common human interests is ensured in the world today, the stronger our country's position is.

The sound, sober approach to the restructuring of economic and political relations and the solution of moral tasks, an approach based on life and people's needs—that is the key to turning hope into reality. The processes of improvement are complex, they may proceed unevenly, in leaps, and zigzags. But in creating the new relations we are also creating the basis for the healthy development of society, A.N. Yakovlev said in conclusion.

The conference will continue for 2 days.

CPSU Officials Identified at Oblast Meetings

PM2012104988 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 December 1988 Second Edition carries on page 2 under the headline "Conferences Held" a brief report on oblast party conferences held in Vologda and Novgorod. The report notes that the following, previously unidentified CPSU Central Committee officials attended the conferences—"Yu.I. Mordvintsev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department" in Vologda, and "A.G. Makarov, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department," in Novgorod. The report also tates that I.I. Nikulin was reelected first secretary of Novgorod obkom.

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Election Conference

PM2112161588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report on 17 December Moscow Proletarskiy Rayon report and election conference: "The Right To Be the Vanguard"]

[Text] Frankness and exactingness, a critical analysis of past work, and a focus on practical tasks—these qualities fully characterize the proceedings of the report and election meetings in the Moscow City CPSU organization. A profound and principled discussion of key questions of the acceleration of restructuring and the implementation of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions is under way at the rayon party conferences being held in the capital.

The report and election conference of the capital's Proletarskiy Rayon Communists, held 17 December, was attended by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

I.S. Lukin, first secretary of the CPSU raykom, noted in his review report that the restructuring which has been launched in our country at the initiative and under the leadership of the party has set the 36,000-strong detachment of the rayon's Communists one main question: What methods should party organizations use to implement their vanguard role?

The past 3 and ½ years have been a period of intensive and responsible work, unprecedented in its novelty and scale. Its essence is the democratization of political and social life, introduction of new methods of management and self-administration in production, priority development of the social sphere, and the renewal of ideological work.

Proceeding on this basis, the CPSU raykom is trying to conduct a constant quest for more effective forms and methods of political leadership, enhancing the role of primary party organizations, and transforming them into the truly combative nuclei of labor collectives. The greater activeness and maturity of Communists are manifesting themselves more and more clearly in the new conditions, and their day-to-day personal participation in the revolutionary transformations is intensifying.

This is only the beginning of our intensive efforts—ahead lie many unresolved problems and crucial tasks.

V.B. Nosov, Likhachev motor vehicle plant party committee secretary; L.Ya. Zhirova, heat treatment worker at the "Raduga" clothing association; V.A. Lyakishev, "Niitavtoprom" science-and-production association party committee secretary; Ye.V. Kurmanayevskaya, "Dinamo" plant senior skilled operator; L. Tokarev, "Mosotdelstroy" No 5 trust party committee secretary, and others who took part in the debate emphasized that people and their actual needs must be at the focus of party work today. Barriers which curb the initiative and creativeness of the masses were mentioned alongside accounts of the concrete manifestations of restructuring. The conference delegates spoke sharply about the need to support new developments in every way and to disseminate them, resolutely overcome the braking mechanism at all levels, and expose demagogues and loudmouths who exploit difficulties.

Proletarskiy Rayon Communists, the speakers noted, have been and will remain a reliable detachment of the party on the road of restructuring.

The conference was addressed by L.N. Zaykov. Judging by the atmosphere of the conference, we have made headway in the further development of democratization and restructuring, he said. The speeches are not only pointed and critical, they are constructive.

The level of exactingness toward the work of the rayon's Communists displayed here today was high, but the delegates' speeches were also marked by goodwill and a focus on concrete matters. Many useful proposals were introduced.

I must say that the atmosphere of high demands and bold questing is characteristic of the capital's party organization and our party as a whole. The spirit of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference is evident in everything.

The report and election meetings in the rayon component will end next Saturday. Their results are being carefully analyzed at the party gorkom. The main result is the political maturity of the city's Communists, their businesslike, realistic approach to the solution of the complex tasks of the current stage of restructuring. The necessary dynamism is being imparted to the work of party organizations everywhere; their influence in priority spheres of the capital's development is increasing. Passive attitudes are being overcome, and the main masses of the working people are joining in restructuring.

The Communists, who have taken part in the meetings, and nonparty people have submitted a total of more than 400,000 specific critical suggestions and constructive proposals aimed at enhancing the role of party organizations in the solution of socioeconomic problems and improving party political work.

Quite a lot of criticism was leveled at elective organs and the party gorkom and raykom apparatus with regard to their work style and their inadequate participation in organizing supervision of the execution of adopted decisions, developing the process of democratization in intraparty life, and combating bureaucracy and excessive paperwork.

All the proposals submitted have been registered, and appropriate measures are already being taken in response to many of them.

In short, the report and election meetings and conferences indicate that, on the one hand, restructuring has the full support of the people and, on the other, the people themselves are changing in the course of restructuring. It is cleansing their souls and filling them with enthusiasm.

We may be confident that the reports and elections in the party will advance truly competent and enterprising Communists to the forefront of restructuring—Communists capable of mastering the political methods of leadership and skilled in the art of struggle for party policy; Communists who enjoy prestige not only within party organizations but also among the masses, because restructuring is being implemented for the sake of people, to enable them to attain political and spiritual maturity.

There is something else that one must recognize: In the course of the reports and elections, one in three party organization secretaries was replaced, along with more than one-half the members of elected bodies. In order to fully meet the demands of restructuring party leaders must constantly replenish their political capital, master methods of work in conditions of expanding democracy and glasnost, and acquire profound knowledge of economic principles.

This is particularly important also because an exceedingly crucial stage is beginning in implementing the reform of the political system—the transition to practical action in reorganizing the supreme organs of state power, improving the activity of the entire system of soviets, and clearly demarcating the functions of party, soviet, and economic bodies. Party political work must be intensified even further, the party must always have the initiative, and the positions of restructuring must be constantly strengthened.

The CPSU Central Committee November (1988) Plenum demanded that party organizations constantly focus attention on all the paramount questions connected with the implementation of the food program, with ensuring the steady functioning of industry, transport, and material and technical supplies, and do everything they can to ensure that the pace of housing construction does not slow and consumer services do not deteriorate in winter conditions.

As you know, comrades, the implementation of these tasks has now been made extremely difficult as a result of the need to eliminate the aftermath of the devastating earthquake in Armenia. Muscovites' hearts ached when they heard of the tragedy, and they were there to help the victims immediately after it occurred. More than 5,500 liters of donor blood, drugs worth R350,000, and over R60 million in voluntary donations and personal savings were sent from Moscow to the disaster area. The Moscow City Soviet transferred R5 million.

Muscovites, together with envoys from other fraternal Soviet republics, are working selflessly to heal the terrible wounds caused by the calamity as quickly as possible. But the main work remains to be done.

The chief thing, of course, is not the material expenditure, but the Muscovites' natural, heartfelt urge to help people in trouble. It is a law of our life, I would say—the basic feature of the Soviet way of life, a manifestation of the mighty force of our peoples' fraternity.

In these difficult conditions, what is needed is maximum efficiency, organization, and discipline to ensure that the prevailing circumstances in no way disrupt our own already tough plans for housing and cultural and consumer construction. In fact, next year we have to commission 3.5 million square meters of housing. We have no right to deviate from this target. Nor are we able to postpone the implementation of other projected programs.

The party Central Committee and government are setting out to meet Muscovites' needs. On many questions that determine the key areas of the restructuring of the most important sectors of the city economy, development of the social sphere, and satisfaction of working people's needs, the relevant resolutions have now been adopted.

Next year we have to carry out the transfer of all industrial sectors, including defense sectors, to work in conditions of economic accountability and self-financing, complete the elaboration of the Master Plan for the Development of Moscow and Moscow Oblast in the Period up to the Year 2010, and present the "Progress-95" comprehensive territorial-sectoral program to higher bodies for approval, and the new Master Scheme for the Management of the Moscow Economy, envisaging a considerable expansion of rayons' economic independence, will come into operation. It is clear from this that rayon and city party and soviet bodies, economic leaders at all levels, and, of course, all Muscovites, will have a vast amount of work to do.

We have a great deal of potential for solving these major problems. One thing we do not have is the right to dawdle and wreck all the plans.

Above all, the time limit for resolving the tasks of providing the population with food has been reached. The solution of this problem is a vital restructuring matter.

As for Moscow, we are faced with the very substantial tasks of constructing new baking and meat and dairy industry enterprises and vegetable storage facilities and revamping and retooling existing facilities.

The cooperative movement has a special part to play in the emerging new forms of labor organization. I want to stress once again that we are in favor of the development of the cooperative movement. But we are resolutely against cases where ispolkoms cut down on enterprises in the state consumer services sphere, provide cooperative workers with cafes and dining rooms, and sometimes turn a blind eye to the activities of various finaglers, profiteers, and speculators.

It is time we stopped talking about shortcomings in trade and public catering; we must put a stop to the phenomena that afflict this sphere—waiting lines, short change, short weight, bad manners, and concealment of and speculation in goods.

We have plenty of resources to achieve this. It is just that law-enforcement and controlling bodies, particularly workers' control, lack a tough line on shady operators in the trade sphere.

The party gorkom, in conjunction with the Moscow gorispolkom, is seeking to unravel the tight knot of problems that have built up over the years; not at a stroke, not by picking elements at random, but comprehensively. If all the plans are carried out, Muscovites will feel the changes in milk and dairy supplies and in the supply of vegetables and potatoes.

Of course, we all want changes for the better immediately. But we have to be realists and appreciate that the solution of the questions will require hard work by all departments of the Moscow gorispolkom, particularly the rayon component, which is being given full power and responsibility for the state of affairs on its own territory.

Party influence on work in residential areas must not be relaxed. Indeed, it is in neighborhood units that people are particulary aware of the level of attention and concern they are getting from the organs of soviet power. It is here that the main work is done with the populace, particularly young people, and it is here that one finds the clubs, youth centers, and enthusiasts' societies. It is necessary to get them operating fully and to persuade enterprises and the public to sponsor them; otherwise it is difficult to combat such monstrous phenomena as drunkenness, drug addiction, and crime, particularly among adolescents.

The timeliness of the decisions made on questions of young people's scientific-technical creativity, the construction of youth housing complexes, and the widening of the Komsomol's potential for solving a number of socioeonomic tasks has been confirmed recently.

At the same time, practice shows that party, soviet, and economic bodies do not always pay due attention to the Komsomol's affairs, to the life of young people. There is nothing trivial about work with young people; they require constant attention. Arrogant people and loudmouths who, to use a publicist's expression, audaciously throw themselves against the embrasure, knowing full well that there is no machinegun there, must not be allowed to address youth audiences.

M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with the young people of Moscow and the oblast during the Komsomol 70th anniversary celebrations demonstrated the young's ardent desire for specific involvement in the renewal of society, in actual creative activity. This represents vast restructuring potential, and it is the duty and obligation of all party organizations and all Communists, particularly those working in the people's education system, to activate it.

The end result of our efforts to strengthen the social sphere and improve educational work is determined by the strength of the economic foundation. We have achieved things in this area.

At the same time many delegates to party conferences were worried about shortcomings in the dissemination of economic accountability relations, the slow progress being made in the formation of labor collective councils, the low rate of introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress, and the large losses sustained by the economy because of mismanagement and poor labor, production, and plan discipline.

The party and state are exploring all avenues in an effort to raise the Soviet people's living standard and speed up the solution of the housing, food, and other vital socioeconomic problems. Guided by our new defensive doctrine and the principle of defense sufficiency, we have taken the considerable step of significantly reducing our Armed Forces on a unilateral basis, which will create the possibility of substantial resources becoming available for national economic needs.

In commencing restructuring, the party put forward as a priority the task of sharply increasing the rate of scientific-technical progress and ensuring the priority development of principal sectors of the national economy—machine building and electronics. Major measures were implemented to strengthen the link between science and production and improve the structure of central economic bodies and ministries.

But the implementation of these large-scale programs is slower than planned; sometimes there have been major hiccups. This is bound to affect the rate of improvement in our people's living standard. In the end, how we work dictates how we live.

As is known, the party Central Committee November plenum examined the draft Overview of USSR Economic and Social Development up to 2005. It is geared to the implementation of a major economic maneuver in terms of investment structure, the scale of which the country has never seen before. This is also the objective of our city and rayon "Progress-95" programs.

This principal thrust of economic policy must also determine party organizations' political work. Attention to questions of socioeconomic development must not waver.

In 2 weeks we will enter the new year. The state plans approved by the legislative bodies are exceedingly tough.

Restructuring demands that all party organizations master methods of organizational and educational work which will enable them to involve all working people in active work to implement plan targets. Unfortunately, at the moment not all subunits and not all working people are involved in elaborating plans. So the struggle to implement the plans is not a matter of vital importance for them.

I would like to recall V.I. Lenin's words: "We do not need fits of hysteria. We need the measured step of the iron battalions of the proletariat." We need calm analysis of our own work, assessment of both errors and achievements—without exaggerating, but also without belittling them. We need a comradely and genuinely party attitude to one another and unity of word and deed in the solution of the big and complex restructuring tasks facing us, L.N. Zaykov said in conclusion.

The new CPSU raykom and control and auditing commission and delegates to the city report and election party conference were elected at the conference.

A.S. Pavlov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee State Law Department; V.I. Shimko, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department; and Yu.S. Melentyev, RSFSR minister of culture, participated in the conference work.

Zaykov, Razumovskiy Visit Moscow Collectives

LD2012111588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2050 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] The progress of the report and election campaign in the party organizations, matters concerning the implementation of economic reform, and speeding up scientific and technological progress were at the center of attention during a visit by Comrades Zaykov and Razumovskiy to a number of work collectives in Moscow's Zhdanovskiy Rayon. Their meeting with delegates to the upcoming report and election raykom conferences was sharp and demanding.

Leaders Attend National Education Congress

LD2012235088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 20 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The All-Union Congress of National Education Workers opened in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow today.

Delegates and guests greeted with applause Comrades Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Nikonov, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, Talyzin, and Baklanov.

Taking part in the congress are over 5,000 delegates and delegations from fraternal socialist countries—Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, GDR, the DPRK, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia.

The congress elected leading bodies.

Those present honored the memory of those killed in the Armenian earthquake with a moment's silence. [passage omitted]

The delegates to the country's pedagogical forum are discussing the series of problems connected with maximum satisfaction of the people's educational requirements. Tomorrow the congress will work in sections, the sessions of which are held on the basis of the leading higher educational establishments of Moscow.

CPSU Greets Congress

PM2112143588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee message: "To the All-Union Congress of Public Education Workers"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee cordially greets you, the delegates to the All-Union Congress of Public Education Workers, and through you the over 6-million-strong detachment of teachers—all workers in the sphere of educating and raising the young citizens of the socialist society.

The mission of the teacher, educator, and instructor is noble and responsible. No other profession has such an important social function, and none has such high demands made on it. Every day of your labor, every hour of study, every lecture, and every meeting with young people is bound up with creativity, a high level of intellectual effort, and utter selflessness which are inconceivable without a profound dedication to work, love for children, and concern for young people.

You have brought to the All-Union Pedagogical Council your experience, the instructions of the collectives of schools, colleges, VUZ's, and technical colleges, and the proposals of teachers, academics, pupils, students, and parents. They express the thoughts and aspirations of all our people on one of the most burning questions: how the Soviet school and the new generations of Soviet people should be.

Your congress is being held at a time when the achievement of visible, practical results in revolutionary restructuring has become the most important issue for the party and people. Intensive work is in progress to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. An economic reform is being launched. The beginning of the creation of a new political system sets the actual outline of the socialist law-governed state.

These truly historic transformations elevate the role of man and demand a tremendous enhancement of culture and morality in all things: in labor and sociopolitical activity, in people's relations with one another and the environment, in the family, and in the satisfaction of material and spiritual needs. That cannot be achieved without a school which meets the highest criteria of social progress.

Our educational system suffered a serious blow during the years of stagnation. The gross approach, an essentially extensive approach, predominated in this sphere, too. Formalism and leveling in the educational process and a striving for uniformity prevented young people from revealing their talents and abilities. Despite the great supply of higher education graduates to the national economy, there was a shortage of top-class specialists. The country paid dearly for that with a fall in the prestige of knowledge, laggardness in science, and the intellectual impoverishment of everyday life.

On the threshold of the 21st century the scientific and technical revolution presents an unprecedented challenge to our capacity for creativity and progress, our ability to teach and learn, to resolve urgent national, regional, and global problems, and to embody mankind's foremost humanist ideals.

The time itself has made the radical restructuring of education an urgent social need. The country's attainment of a qualitatively new level of socialist development greatly depends on the growth of its intellectual, cultural, and moral potential.

The decisions of the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum formulated political recommendations aimed at achieving a fundamental breakthrough in the training and education of the rising generations and defined principled demands on public education. The crucial task is the transition to an integrated system of continuous education which is required to take full account of the growing pace of change in the material and spiritual conditions of life and the dynamism and movement of contemporary knowledge.

The most important element in the entire system of continuous education is the general education school, whose task is to give everyone the level of scientific knowledge which society needs, to provide contact with the treasures of national and world culture, and to provide a moral and physical tempering. It is necessary to give the millions of students all the conditions for obtaining a proper secondary education and developing their abilities and gifts and to instill in them the need for and skills of self-education. The diversity of forms and methods of teaching, consideration of individual abilities and preferences, and contact with productive labor must help young people make a conscious choice of profession and ways of continuing their education in light of society's needs.

The training and education of schoolchildren in the vocational and technical education system must be resolutely improved. That system is designed to train a modern, well-educated replenishment for the working class and peasantry, one with its sights set on everything new and advanced, and skilled cadres for all sectors of the national economy.

The activity of higher and secondary specialized education must be directed toward creating the kind of cadre potential which is capable of accomplishing revolutionary changes in the economy, raising Soviet science and technology to the world level, enriching culture, and renewing society's spiritual life.

It is important to utilize various forms of training, the potential of the Komsomol, independent associations and labor collectives, the mass media, and the creative unions. Continuous education must be an integral part of the Soviet people's way of life. The all-around development of the individual and the utmost realization of each person's abilities are its main aim.

The role of the Soviet school as the starting point in the formation of the individual, the molding of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, ideological maturity, and political culture is invaluable. This is where such civic qualities as social responsibility, self-discipline, and respect for the law are to be fashioned and the skills of self-management and socialist independent activity are to be developed.

The growth of national self-awareness and the processes taking place in the sphere of interethnic relations today make new demands on education and upbringing. The Soviet school must bring up true patriots and internationalists and instill respect for the culture and language of one's native republic and all the nations and ethnic groups of the USSR. The young generation must see our great country as an indivisible whole and feel a sense of responsibility for the common fate of the Soviet peoples and the socialist motherland.

In the conditions of restructuring, our secondary and higher education have a special need for the outstanding personality of the teacher. This lofty vocation unites the schoolteacher, the VUZ professor, and the vocational and technical college instructor. The modern teacher must capture the minds of pupils and students, set an example of highly moral practical activity, assert humanist principles of good and justice, and strengthen the ideological and spiritual bond between the generations of Soviet people.

The people and the party highly value the innovators in educational thinking and practice and the labor of many thousands of those dedicated to public education. Restructuring is steadfastly increasing the number of those teachers and educators who are constantly engaged on a creative search and blazing new trails. Their mature civic words, which young people and all our public listen to keenly, are acquiring increasing weight.

The school's responsibility to society is great. But it must be reinforced by society's responsibility toward the school and constant concern for its needs and requirements. After all, education is one of the main priorities determining the future of restructuring and the fate of socialism. Life itself demands that fuller and more comprehensive use be made of our present opportunities for strengthening and developing the educational system and raising it to a qualitatively new level. The paramount task of party, state, and economic organs and public organizations is to sharply direct attention toward the school, the teacher and young people, the family and childhood.

The vital source of the development of secondary and higher education is its indissoluble link with production collectives. From them schools should obtain a continuous flow of labor, moral, and political improvement. Every labor collective needs a program of cooperation with schools.

Our long-term policy is the committed involvement of cultural and scientific figures and all the intellectual forces of the country in the training and education of the young generation. And, of course, this applies primarily to educational science, which is designed to play a fundamentally new role in the formation and development of the modern school.

The radical renewal of the academic and research base of public education is a task of great state importance. Appropriations for these purposes are being considerably increased. The material and moral incentives for educational work are being stepped up. Measures are being taken to ensure that resources for public education needs are allocated as a priority. In the course of restructuring Soviet society is committed to the enhancement of education and the prestige of the teacher to the height bequeathed by Lenin.

The CPSU Central Committee has faith in the creative forces and active political stance of public education workers and is highly appreciative of their readiness to do everything to ensure the fundamental improvement of the education and upbringing of the rising generations and to the progress of the cause of the revolutionary transformation of the country.

We wish your congress fruitful and creative work. [Signed] CPSU Central Committee

Yagodin on Overhauling Public Education System

LD2012111688 Moscow TASS in English 1034 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—Gennadiy Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, has described a system of continuous education being created in the USSR as a new phenomenon in the life of Soviet society. It is meant to ensure conditions for satisfying the learning requirements of society and each person. Yagodin delivered a report at an All-Union Congress of Public Education Workers opened in the Kremlin today.

In submitting to the congress a draft for overhauling education, "We believe that the economic and political reforms, overcoming man's estrangement from ownership, labour, culture, power—the new promising realities of our life—will raise the prestige of knowledge, and the continuous upgrading of one's educational and cultural standards will become a vital necessity for each person", Yagodin stressed.

The secondary school is the groundwork for continuous education. "We propose to effect revolutionary changes in its activity, structure and the content of education". Accessible as they are, schools should be versatile, have many variants of curricula and employ a variety of education methods. Yagodin said that it was proposed, in part, to cancel stringent regulation for primary schools. Both six- and seven-year-olds can enter it depending on the level of their development and abilities. The duration of the course depends on the headway made by the child—three or four years.

The task of the second stage is to form notions of nature, society and man. Differentiation of education begins here. At the third stage, which caps the secondary education, a pupil is afforded an opportunity to select independently several subjects for an in-depth education in the humanitarian physico-mathematical, chemico-biological, technical or agricultural field depending on abilities.

There are 2.7 million teachers in the USSR, the report pointed out. Their number will increase by one and a half times in the next ten years. The reform also covers the teacher training system. The state should show particular concern for improving the teachers' living and working conditions.

Yagodin named novelties proposed in vocational training, among them setting up higher vocational schools to train workers for science-intensive production.

The broad democratisation process also affected higher school. The "statute of a higher educational establishment" was put to the congress' discussion. It envisages the development by each institute and university of its own statute reflecting its national, regional, professional and other peculiarities. Their autonomy and initiatives are supported.

Touching on questions of the language of education in the multi-ethnic country, Yagodin stressed: "The democratic principle of its free choice by pupils and their relatives themselves should be preserved. But, at the same time, it is necessary that conditions be created for the study of the language of the republic's indigenous people by all pupils and students of other nationalities living in its territory, and in general by the entire population. This study should be encouraged in every way".

The report pays much attention to the need to develop state and public management of schools, to form its flexible and multifarious structure. The congress itself will take one of the first steps toward this: It will elect an all-union public education council.

Arrest, Beating of Soviet Journalist Reported

AU2112095688 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Dec 88 p 6

["E.L." report: "Attack on Civil Rights Activist Reported"]

[Text] The Hague, 20 December—The independent Soviet journalist Sergey Kuznetsov, who was arrested 9 days ago according to the International Committee for Human Rights (IGFM), has reportedly been beaten up in prison. According to the Frankfurt-based committee, which relies on information from its Moscow branch, Kuznetsov, who writes for the independent GLASNOST magazine, has started a hunger strike in protest against the maltreatment he has received. Investigations are currently being carried out against Kuznetsov, who is also a member of the Moscow IGFM group, on account of "resistance against the militia." The Moscow IGFM group has meanwhile appealed via telephone on the participants of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting to deal with KGB actions against civil rights activists in various Soviet towns. Thus, the KGB was particularly active in numerous towns of the Soviet Union on 10 December, Human Rights Day. The IGFM also reports that "terrorist measures" are increasingly being taken against the Armenian people. On 14 December, for example, two members of the Karabakh committee were detained after the arrest of 10 of the committee's activists 4 days earlier. Small groups of Armenians are allegedly being beaten up quite frequently in the streets of Yerevan by Army members; arbitrary arrests in broad daylight have also been observed. The authorities are apparently trying to isolate the activists of the nationalist movement.

Deputy Minister on Environmental Issues

AU1612130788 Vienna KURIER in German 16 Dec 88 p 5

[Interview with USSR Deputy Environment Minister Yuriy Saturov by Roman Hinterseer in Moscow: "There is No Alternative to Nuclear Power"; date not given]

[Text] KURIER: Might restructuring not obstruct the ecological efforts in the USSR? The enterprises are changing over to self-financing and will probably have even less money for environmental protection afterward.

Saturov: The enterprises have to count their kopeks carefully. However, this does not mean that we are economizing on environmental protection. We take it as seriously as production.

KURIER: What happens to enterprises that cannot keep up with this?

Saturov: Last year, until their modernization, as many as 2,000 enterprises that had polluted the environment were closed by us. A complaint was even filed with the Procuracy against some of these firms. Now there are penalty taxes for environmental offenses, which are collected in a fund that pays for repairing damage to the environment.

KURIER: Is there not the danger that enterprises might gladly pay these penalties because they are cheaper for them than a general modernization?

Saturov: In this case, we use the money that the enterprise would get for its staff's social fund to mend the damage!

KURIER: What is the extent of the damage to the environment?

Saturov: The ecological situation is tense. We are heavily burdened with the post-war heritage. In the building effort, minor importance was attached to environmental protection. Many things remain to be done. For example, the exhaust values of cars do not correspond to international standards. On the other hand, however, we have the world's strictest air purification laws.

KURIER: Has the Chernobyl nuclear power plant catastrophe caused a turn in the USSR's thinking?

Saturov: The population has become alert, and there is resistance to the construction of new nuclear power plants.

KURIER: Is the USSR to give up nuclear power in the long run?

Saturov: There are no ecological motives for renouncing nuclear power. When operating normally, nuclear power plants do not harm people's health at all. Radioactive emission of coal power plants and thermal power plants is five times as high as that of nuclear power plants of the Chernobyl type, and 40 times as high as that of nuclear fast breeders.

'Ecological Foundation' Formed in Moscow

PM0812094588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Creation of Ecological Foundation"]

[Text] Restoring harmony between man and nature and making power generation and industry develop in accordance with the laws governing the preservation of the biosphere—these are the global aims of the new public nongovernment organization called the Ecological Foundation.

It has been founded in Moscow on the initiative of the USSR Academy of Sciences Philosophy Department and the country's Philosophical Society. It has been created to "informally" unite people concerned with problems of environmental pollution, and who are willing to work in this direction.

"We will begin by publishing an independent journal," Professor E. Girusov, chairman of the foundation, said. "Ecological information frequently fails to be neutral, but it is a crime to conceal it. In addition, we intend to carry out expert studies of large-scale projects and situations in the regions, support long-term scientific development projects, and cooperate in their implementation. But our main task now is forming and spreading a modern ecological world view.

An ecopolicy is planned for the future where there will be harmony in industry, housing and nature, and where man, knowing the laws of the biosphere, will learn to live in accordance with them. These will be the first zones of reason—noospheres. The term was introduced by Academician V. Vernadskiy, who did not consider the fact that man was ruining his environment as fatal and inevitable.

The Ecological Foundation plans to work in close contact with the USSR State Committee for Environmental Control. Yu. Maksimenko, deputy chief of the USSR Main State Ecological Expert Appraisal Service, has even joined the board. A representative of the Russian Orthodox Church, who was present at its constituent assembly, supported the new undertaking on behalf of the priesthood.

The ecological foundation's activity is being implemented with voluntary donations from Soviet and foreign citizens and organizations, which are being received at all divisions of the USSR Bank, account No 706.

Legal Expert Previews Exit, Entry Visa Law

PM0312090288 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian on 7 December carries on page 14 under the heading "Everyone's Right," a 1,400-word feature comprising extracts from four readers' letters and an interview with Professor V.A. Kartashkin, member of the Commission for Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights, by correspondent Vladimir Kuznetsov. The unattributed introduction reads: "The LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial office often receives letters from readers complaining about institutions responsible for issuing visas for Soviet citizens to go abroad. Here are some extracts from them." Three of the four letters quoted complain of problems in obtaining visas for travel to Bulgaria, the CSSR, and the United States respectively, while the fourth says: "It must be realized at last that people who put in requests for a visa to travel abroad have regained their sense of dignity from restructuring, and they will not endure the position of a humble supplicant."

The feature continues:

"Our correspondent Vladimir Kuznetsov asked Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor V.A. Kartashkin, member of the Commission for Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights, to comment on the new law 'On the Procedure for Exit From and Entry to the USSR by Soviet Citizens,' which is currently being drafted.

[Kuznetsov] "Vladimir Alekseyevich, to what extent will the existing provisions on entry and exit change with the adoption of the law?

[Kartashkin] "On 10 December the world will mark the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the Unviersal Declaration of Human Rights by the UN General Assembly. Our legislation does not yet accord with its provisions in every respect. Everyone, the declaration proclaims, has the right to leave any country freely, including his own, and to return to his homeland. Unfortunately, this right did not operate in our coutnry for a long time. As you know, as of 1 January 1987 new rules came into force in the USSR, governing trips abroad and simplifying the formalities. The need to make substantial amendments to them became clear 6 months later. But even that was not enough. Now it is a question of adopting a law on the basis of which any citizen can travel abroad freely without stating any special reason. It goes without saying that we must remember that in no country is the right of entry and exit unrestricted. The rights in question depend both on the international situation in general and on relations between particular states. This is also stipulated in the Universal Declaration. Such restrictions may be associated with the interests of state security and public order, or the interests of the population's health and morality. Such restrictions exist in the United States, the West European countries, and the socialist countries. Our task is to summarize and utilize the positive experience of all those countries.

"It must not be thought, however, that the adoption of the law will resolve all the problems associated with exit from the USSR. Apart from legislative measures, a whole range of economic measures are necessary, too. It is no secret, for instance, that our ruble is not a convertible currency. That inevitably creates certain difficulties—for tourist trips in particular. Only after the restructuring processes in the economy yield the desired results will the right of citizens to travel freely be implemented in full.

[Kuznetsov] "When can we expect the law to be adopted?

[Kartashkin] "Scientists, lawyers, and scientific research institutes take part in the drafting of any law. Then the draft law goes to the relevant ministries and departments, who have the last word. Naturally, disagreements arise, which inevitably delay the adoption of any law. Therefore no one can answer your question at present. Any step that breaks with established practice always prompts resistance. Thus, for instance, representatives of the conservatively minded bureaucracy think that the adoption of such a law could lead to a substantial increase in the number of Soviet citizens wishing to leave the Soviet Union permanently. In the opinion of the majority of scientists and lawyers, there are no grounds for this fear. Doubts were expressed on this score almost from the outset, when the law began to be drafted this year. The most important point in the law now is to retain the provision guaranteeing the right of every citizen freely to leave the Soviet Union and freely to return to his country. If this provision is retained in the final version, the law will achieve its aim."

*Ordzhonikidze Hijacking Events Recounted

WA18000272 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 10 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Yu. Bychkov and V. Ospishchev: "Ultimatum From the Bus"]

[Text] **We already reported that on 1 December in the city of Ordzhonikidze a group of armed criminals seized 31 students and their teacher as hostages. The bandits demanded of the authorities that they be taken abroad. In order to protect the life of the children, the conditions of the terrorists were accepted. As we know, thanks to the courage, restraint and professional skill of the MVD, KGB, MID and the Ministry of Civil Aviation, which participated in Operation Thunder, the children and the teacher were rescued. Today, by request of the readers, we are providing a more detailed description of those worrisome hours. The participants in and witnesses to the dramatic events both on the ground and in the air helped our correspondents in this.**

After the class, the fourth "D" grade of school No 42 took off for the printing press to see the way books are made. The interesting visit took 1 hour. The children came out on the street where they were accosted by a person who asked from what school they came. Hearing their answer, he invited all of them in the bus: "We are your sponsors and we were sent for you." The children happily rushed into the carriage. It was a long way to home and this concern shown by the adults was more than welcome. The moment the children, accompanied by their homeroom teacher Natalya Vladimirovna Yefimova, climbed into the bus, its doors were shut quickly. They all found themselves in a trap, in the hands of out-and-out scoundrels who had planned a vile action.

Meanwhile, at the city bus terminal, the people were waiting for the bus which was scheduled to go to Mozdok. It had already completed one trip and now, for some reason, it was not showing up for the second. People with tickets in hands could not even conceive of the fact that during that same time the LAZ-687 was being driven in the city with hostages and had become a threat to anyone who stood on its way.

"During the day on 1 December I was in my office," says Taymuraz Dzhetagazovich Batagov, deputy chief of the MVD of the North Osetian ASSR. "I received a report that the driver of a passenger car had been hurt in a street. He had been fired upon from a passing bus. As it later become clear, four bandits (P. Yakshiyants, their leader, with three convictions, V. Muravlev, with two convictions, G. Vishiyakov and V. Anastasov) made a point of drawing attention to themselves.

Meanwhile, the bus, with drawn curtains, drove to the building of the party obkom. It stopped around the corner. Having decided to commit this monstrous crime, the bandits did not as yet know the way events would develop. The one thing they did not question was that having seized the children, they could use them as a shield. They were not wrong in their estimates. The moment it became known that school children were in trouble, the task which faced anyone who was involved in the operation for their release was one: to save the lives and health of the children at any, even the highest, cost.

The bandits demanded to be given an airplane to fly abroad. They named several countries, one of which would be their destination. They asked for 2 million in cash and drugs. They asked to see an old friend of theirs who, at that time, was serving a jail term for a crime. Let us give his due to Viktor Krivonosov. Finding out that he had been offered to join the company, he firmly refused to leave the homeland and begged for the release of the children. This answer did not suit the leader who terminated the conversation.

What happened then?

"For a period of 11 hours we talked with the terrorists," went on T.D. Batagov with his story. "The moment we would appear to linger, there would be an immediate shout: 'If you drag your feet you will receive the first body of a child!' These were no empty threats. I was able to look into the window of the bus and I saw that everything there had been prepared to blow it up. The degenerates were likely to do anything."

Yes, there were jerrycans with gasoline in the truck, which could turn into a huge fire in an instant.

The parents, whose children were in the hands of the gang, were prepared to free the children themselves. Many others were ready to help, including the students at the local MVD school, and one of the former internationalist soldiers expressed the readiness to take on the aggressors virtually single-handed. It took a great deal of effort on the part of the militia and the army to restrain the pressure of all those who were rushing to the bust with the children. The approaches to the bus had to be cordoned off and it was under heavy guard that the sinister bus was accompanied to the airport.

Traveling slowly, because of the icy condition of the road, it took almost 6 hours to reach Minvody. The trip seemed long to the tired, hungry and frightened children. Although the small prisoners were not older than 10 years of age, they quickly understood what they were dealing with. They resisted as best they could. It was seemingly by accident that they poured kefir on drug-filled syringes.

Here is another feature which is to the honor of the young citizens of the country. Not one of them responded to the insulting and cynical suggestion of gaining his freedom by burning his Pioneer necktie.

Late at night the bus reached the airport where an airplane was already waiting for it.

"Where are we going?" asked Vyacheslav Vasilyevich Balashov, as he greeted the members of the crew. "And why the hurry?"

"We have no idea," said airplane captain Aleksandr Bozhkov, shrugging his shoulders. "Actually, we were planning to fly to Delhi. For some reason, however, we received the urgent order to unload the airplane and to fly it empty to Minvody, where we would be given our next schedule...."

Sasha Bozhkov had been captain of this airplane for a short time. Slightly over a year before that Balashov himself had recommended him for this responsible position. According to regulations, he could fly a new route only with a more experienced comrade, the so-called control pilot. Now, however, he had to follow an unknown itinerary.

They landed in Minvody at about 2 am.

"Do you know why you have flown here?" excitedly asked the airport chief on the official line. He told them about the children captured by the terrorists.

Vyacheslav Vasilyevich had 34 years of flying experience. He had had the opportunity to see a great deal in the course of his flying career. However, he had not had the occasion until then to come across air pirates. It was they who would decide where to fly. Eventually, the operative crisis headquarters, in charge of Operation Thunder, transmitted the following to the crew: prepare to fly to Tel Aviv.

"I am generally familiar with this route. I have flown to Damascus," Balashov reported.

He was well aware of the extent of the risk. With restraint but without concealing the danger, he described to his comrades the situation. He wanted to ask whether anyone would like to stay behind but then reconsidered, fearing that this would be taken as an insult. All he said was that two members of the crew had to stay behind. As to who precisely would go aground, let the crew decide by themselves. After a short conference, six people in addition to Balashov and Bozhkov remained in the aircraft.

Initially the leader of the bandits demanded of the pilots to line up in their shirtsleeves in front of the airplane, for a check. They stood like this for 20 minutes and were freezing. Meanwhile, it was quiet in the bus. At that point, at his own risk and peril, Balashov stepped toward the bus. Shivering from the cold, he peered into the semi-open door. Without stepping up, he shouted to the terrorists:

"We are already warming up the engines!"

He was answered by a new demand on the part of the bandits:

"The members of the crew must be handcuffed!"

Then, together with the flight engineer Boris Khodusov, one of the scoundrels checked the plane. He looked over each compartment closely, for concealed exits or weapons. Using the children as a shield, the entire gang moved from the bus to the airplane, pushing the children on. Two children stopped at the gangway and refused to take one more step. Khodusov could not contain himself: "What do think you are doing, monsters?"

"Let them go," Yakshiyants interceded for these two.

The other children as well wanted to leave the plane. The leader waved his weapon and shouted:

"They will stay on! Or I shoot!..."

Nonetheless, after being given weapons, bullet-proof vests, drugs and foreign currency, the bandits released the children and the teacher. But not immediately. By letting some of them go, they took other hostages which, now, were the crew with the aircraft.

"When I saw that the children were out of danger it was as though a mountain dropped off my shoulders," Balashov recalls.

The crew as well cheered up. For example, Sasha Bozhkov categorically refused to take off while handcuffed.

After all the children with the teacher had left the airplane, Yakshiyants put the pistol against Khodusov's head:

"If we do not get the money in 5 minutes I will shoot all of you."

The money was brought in three bags.

The airplane took off on 2 December at approximately 15:15 hours.

So far we have not mentioned the only woman aboard: Tamara Fotaki, the leader's ex-wife. She too was there not by her own free will. On the way from the printing press, Yakshiyants collected her from her home, together with her daughter. Acting as the spokesman, he ordered her to go to the airport to fly with them. Throughout that time Tamara tried to talk the terrorists out of their criminal intentions and begged that the children be released and that they surrender voluntarily to the authorities. However, they ignored her advise. Despairing in her attempts, she was unable to withstand the stress and, at the time the airplane took off, she burst out crying.

The moment the Il-76 was in the air, the leader unexpectedly ordered Balashov:

"We are going to Ordzhonikidze!"

"The Ordzhonikidze airport is not equipped to handle such planes."

Silently, Yakshiyants went to the freight compartment, where his accomplices waited. It was there that Boris Khodusov was under guard.

During the flight, obviously under the influence of the drugs, the "passengers" became more cheerful. They started to play with their loaded weapons.

"This is a stupid game," Khodusov noted. "A bullet would pierce through the skin and the airplane would become depressurized."

Then came the turn of counting the money. They removed stacks of money from the bags, looked at them thoughtlessly and asked the pilots what currency that was? Were there guldens, pounds sterling, franks or dollars? When the airplane began to land, they feverishly started to stuff their pockets with cash. Some shoved the money even in their socks....

After the plane had landed, initially Yakshiyants did not believe that they had landed in Tel Aviv.

"Everyone will remain aboard the plane!" he ordered.

"I shall now find out...." He jumped on the ground. Having ascertained that the airplane had indeed landed in Israel, he tried to ingratiate himself by offering money to those who had come to meet the plane.

A few minutes later all terrorists were taken away from the airport. The crew went to a hotel to rest. Vyacheslav Vasilyevich rang up his home.

"Where are you?" his wife asked.

"In Tashkent," the pilot said reassuringly.

"How is the weather?"

"Like summer. I will be home on Sunday morning."

The bandits were sent back to Moscow in the same airplane. Their case is now under investigation and they will soon be facing the court.

On Saturday, flying on another airplane, the fourth "D" grade, together with their teacher flew from Minvody to Ordzhonikidze. At the airport they were welcomed by several hundred people and several thousand waited for them at the school. People had come from many cities and even from distant villages. No one in the republic had remained indifferent to the fate of the school children which had had such a harrowing experience.

Legal Expert Interviewed on Hijack Prevention

PM1312120488 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 Dec 88 p 3

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences Yu. Maleyev, lecturer at the USSR Foreign Ministry Institute of International Relations, by V. Vasilyev under the rubric "Our Commentary": "An Interrupted Flight..."; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] The children seized by bandits in the city of Ordzhonikidze were saved. The terrorists, who flew to Israel, were returned and will face trial. One might feel inclined to heave a sigh of relief. But the telephone in the editorial office is never silent. People want to know more and more details. They remember the tragic events that occurred not so long ago on board the airliner hijacked by the Ovechkin family. How can these acts of violence be possible? What do the bandits hope for? Is punishment inevitable if someone does succeed in hijacking a plane, or is it rather the exception? We asked Doctor of Juridical Sciences Yu. Maleyev, lecturer at the USSR Foreign Ministry Institute of International Relations, to answer the readers' questions.

[Maleyev] Let me stipulate at once: I am not going to comment on the actions of the criminal group that took off from Mineralnyye Vody. The court still has to make its points here. And there is no point in engaging in speculation. [passage omitted]

The legal mechanism for combating air piracy is relatively effective. A bandit who takes weapons or explosives on board is either handed over to the state to which the aircraft belongs, or tried under the legislation of his own country. The penalties, depending on the crime, are very severe—including life imprisonment or the death penalty. Throughout the world the attitude toward air pirates is equally severe. A prison cell, a considerable fine, and other measures of punishment are inevitable.

[Vasilyev] But what about the Brazinskases, who seriously wounded the navigator and pilot and killed stewardess Nadya Kurchenko? Basically they got away with a bit of a fright.

[Maleyev] The bandits hijacked an Aeroflot plane in 1970. At that time the conventions of The Hague and Montreal had not yet been adopted, and the treaty on legal assistance had not been concluded with Turkey, where the killers took refuge at first. And as you know, the law is not retroactive.... There are a whole series of other factors too, but I do not think there is any point in analyzing them in detail now. Moreover the Soviet side does not consider the question closed, and continues to demand the extradition of the criminals. [passage omitted]

[Vasilyev] Yuriy Nikolayevich, as I understand it, international measures for combating air piracy have been formulated quite thoroughly and continue to improve. Even the most successful criminals will inevitably be punished and the aircraft will be returned. Nonetheless one has the impression that the hijackers do not consider these measures effective, since they are still hijacking planes today. What is the problem?

[Maleyev] The effectiveness of the struggle is seriously hampered by the traditionally liberal attitude of Western countries toward criminals hijacking planes from socialist countries and the desire in every such case to give the act a political hue and mitigate the punishment. But one can say that this trend has become less obvious recently. Hijacks are too costly for all countries. Air piracy is an extremely dangerous crime born of our technical age. Seizing and hijacking an aircraft threatens dozens of lives and undermines faith in the safety of civil air transport. Not only in Soviet legal doctrine and judicial practice, but in the vast majority of countries the prevalent approach to hijackers is to regard them as international criminals. This creates real opportunities for close cooperation among states to eradicate air piracy in the broadest possible way, whatever the motives.

Contents of KOMMUNIST No 18 Reviewed

PM1412163988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 88 Second Edition p2

[TASS report: "Latest Journal Issue"]

[Text] The 18th issue of KOMMUNIST, the CPSU Central Committee theoretical and political journal, has been published. This issue is unusual. In it the editorial office has tried to present the everyday, animated movement of social thought unfolding throughout the country. Typical press items have been selected. The issue has reprinted articles by 19 authors from 15 publications—from the Far East to the Baltic and from wall newspapers and factory newspapers to academic journals.

The editorial "Living Thought of Renewal," which opens this anthology issue, says that the material presented to the reader has taken as its starting point the individual in a socialist country, his work, the free development of his personality, his civic rights and responsibilities, and his happiness and well-being. Whatever the subject—international security, the development of science as an important condition of progress, the preservation of specific ethnic characteristics in culture, the combination of education and professionalism, the rule-of-law state, or the role of philosophy and social theory today—it is all essentially linked by the common idea of the fate of man under socialism, the fate of socialism itself, and ways to comprehensively transform and renew socialism.

The following are published under the rubric "Restructuring: Theory and Experience": an article by Yu. Karosas, "Historical Reality and Social Theory"; a dialogue between scientists A. Revaykin and M. Ledenev, "Yesterday's Problems Tomorrow"; an article by I. Bogdanov, "Learning the Truth"; an editorial "roundtable"—"The Aim is a Rule-of-Law State"; two articles by V. Bozhanov on "problem areas" in the work of the apparatus; and an article by V. Spirin, "The Paradoxes of Management."

The section entitled "Spiritual Life of Society" opens with an article by V. Keshelava: "Prey to Post-Dogmatism." An article by I. Dzyuba, "Do We Recognize Ethnic Culture as an Integral Entity?" and a selection from the school wall newspaper BARRIKADA are also published.

An item entitled "The Creativity of V.I. Vernadskiy and Philosophy" is published in the section "Science and Education." The reader will also find the following articles in this section: "Restructuring Science and the Science of Restructuring" by S. Goldin and "Education, Professionalism, and Restructuring" by L. Izhitskiy.

The articles "Russia and Marx" by M. Gefter and "Debating the Main Issues" by A. Slinko are published under the rubric "Pages From History."

An article by I. Malashenko, "Security and the Cost-Based Approach," is also published.

Science Cooperatives Form New Association

PM0712135588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "New Association Created"]

[Text] The constituent congress of the All-Union Association of Scientific and Technical Cooperative and Economically Accountable Organizations and Enterprises took place on 2 December. The founders of the new public organization are the Union of Soviet Scientific and Engineering Societies, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR State Committee for Education, and the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Leading scientific and technical and engineering and technological cooperatives, which united the day before to form a union of scientific and technical cooperatives, economically accountable centers for scientific and technical services, centers for scientific and technical creativity for young people from many cities in the country, and other extradepartmental economically accountable organizations and enterprises joined the association.

The main aim of the new public organization is to develop and ensure collaboration among cooperative and economically accountable organizations, define priorities in scientific and technical research, represent and defend the interests of the association members, and set up economically accountable collective brokerage, financial, legal, and information forms of service.

The congress ratified the organization's regulations and elected the Association Council.

Moscow TV Program Looks at Railroad Safety

OW1012101288 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0410 GMT on 23 November, in its scheduled "Restructuring Spotlight" program, carries a report by correspondent Valeriy Bakarinov on the problems faced by Soviet railways due to poor maintenance. Appearing in the studio, Bakarinov notes that most people are not concerned with railway statistics and are more concerned with how long it will take to get a ticket, whether or not the carriages are clean, and what the service is like. Bakarinov notes that these issues are important, but adds that they overshadow the safety problem, which is no less important.

As the video cuts to show passenger trains passing, a caption indicates that the video was shot in October 1988. Bakarinov says: "Let us take a look at the figures. Our railroad network makes up 11 percent of all the railroads on earth, but it carries half of the freight hauled in the world. This means that the volume of freight in millions of tonnes carried over every kilometer of track is almost five times greater than in the United States and much greater than in Britain, France, or the FRG. Naturally, the more intensive the use of the railroad tracks, the more they wear out, and this means there is a need to replace more rails, cross ties, bridge spans, and so forth. Suffice it to say that every year about 170,000 dangerous rails are replaced. This is a convincing figure, and it is the indicator of the reliability of the track management. It has been estimated that on our railroads this indicator is 10 times worse than on the railroads of West European countries. An even more alarming situation concerns worn-out cross ties and switch ties. Today their number is more than four times the normal level. In other words, the situation is worse than it was in 1945, right after the war."

As the video shows examples of worn rails and cross ties, Bakarinov continues: "Last year alone there were two wrecks and seven accidents due to rotten cross ties and switch ties. Trains were derailed more than 3,000 times at stations and approach tracks." The video cuts to show Bakarinov talking to N.S. Drachev, chief engineer of the Moscow Railway, who is identified by a screen caption. Drachev says: "With the poor condition of the track, it is impossible to travel at a speed of 100-120 km per hour. In such cases we are forced to reduce speed to 40-80 km per hour. This upsets the movement of trains. Presently, 20 percent of all long-distance passenger trains arrive in Moscow behind schedule. We are responsible. We are the first to be asked: Why is the train not running according to schedule? How can you explain to the passengers that it is late because the condition of the track is unsatisfactory?"

The video cuts to a building with a sign indicating it is an experimental track maintenance machinery station. Bakarinov notes that the situation can be explained. He cites the example of the Bryansk section of the Moscow Railway, which, he says, has an excellent repair base and equipment. The video shows neat stacks of cross ties and other equipment at the base, then cuts to show Bakarinov talking to track rigger I.G. Seliverstov. Bakarinov notes the large number of cross ties on hand, to which Seliverstov responds: "There is a lack of permanent materials. Because of this, the reinforced concrete cross ties are stored here. Ferrous metallurgy plants are not supplying us necessary quantities of products. That is the reason."

Bakarinov is then shown interviewing A.P. Nikitenko, chief of the experimental track maintenance machinery station, who says: "Capital repairs on another 12 km of track remain before we fulfill the plan. With the availability of this quantity of materials...." Bakarinov interrupts to say: "I would say the nonavailability." Nikitenko laughs and continues: "With this amount of fastenings we can only complete another kilometer."

The video cuts to show track laying equipment at work as Bakarinov notes that the Bryansk railway section did manage to scrape up the needed materials to complete the job. He is then shown talking to A.N. Mytko, chief of the Bryansk railway section, who is responsible for track maintenance. In response to a question on how the track will be maintained, Mytko says: "This is a very complicated problem. Why is it complicated? It is complicated because during the period between repairs, taking our freight haulage intensity into account, for approximately 9-10 years we must maintain the track in a safe condition. We do not know how to maintain the track for 10 years, because during this 10-year period we cannot expect and there are no plans for the supply of materials, primarily fastenings, nuts, bolts, and spikes, for routine maintenance of the tracks."

Bakarinov laughs and notes that in Chekhov's story "The Malefactor," the culprit stole only one nut, yet the situation today prevents bolting down entire rails. Mytko says: "Yes, we have this problem today. People work on traffic safety, yet have no idea what to work with, using a mixed bag of bolts and nuts in some cases or even putting boards under the rails."

Bakarinov is then shown talking to A.L. Kondratenko, first deputy chief of the Main Administration for Lines of the Ministry of Railways. Bakarinov asks him: "Workers of the Bryansk depot complain that bolts and nuts are not being supplied. Could this be a local problem?" Kondratenko replies: "Unfortunately, this is not a local problem. Unfortunately, in recent years, particularly in 1988, the situation regarding the supply of these small parts throughout the network is at an all-time low. What parts precisely? Tie plate bolts produced by the Druzhkovka hardware plant. We already have a shortage of these needed for 300 kilometers, yet we need to complete repairs. This is a small nut which costs only 4 kopeks, yet we have a shortage of 8.5 million of them, and 300 kilometers of capital repairs cannot be performed because of this. Tie plates also do not cost much, yet their value in organizing track repair work is very high. We also have a shortage of this item to cover about 370 kilometers.

"The problem of spikes, like the one I am holding, is an example. We have not received throughout the network something on the order of 38,000 tonnes of this insignificant item, which weighs only 378 grams. Today we have nothing with which to attach the rails to the cross ties because of this problem. The Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy has placed the railway maintenance workers in a very serious situation as they prepare for winter. The Druzhkovka hardware plant and the Magnitogorsk hardware plant are failing to fulfill supply plans, and deliveries of rails are not being met. To date, taking only this year's funds into consideration, we have failed to receive 350 km of rails. If we take the funds allocated and confirmed by Gosplan, the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy failed to supply us with 1,300 km of rails over the past 2 years and 9 months. Rails needing replacement remain in place. We cannot replace hundreds of inventoried rails."

Bakarinov notes that this involves the safety of railroad traffic, to which Kondratenko replies: "The safety of trains is directly related to this. We are experiencing a very serious deficit of cranes for laying track, such as you see in action here. We are using cranes produced in 1956. They are already 32 years old and should have been scrapped twice over." In response to Bakarinov's question: "Why are so few being supplied?" Bakarinov says: "Mintyazhmash [Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building] is developing its industry very poorly."

Bakarinov then says: "This means that Mintyazhmash enterprises are not only disregarding the problems of railway maintenance, but are failing to fulfill state decisions as well." Kondratenko says: "That is right. They are not fulfilling state decisions. Mintyazhmash enterprises are not supplying heavy machines. The Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy is not fulfilling state plans, nor has the Coal Ministry, which was responsible for creating a [words indistinct] machine, managed to even accept it for production even though the machine was ordered in accordance with Resolution 401."

Bakarinov notes that the Ministry of Railways and, ultimately, passengers suffer, to which Kondratenko adds that the ministries involved themselves suffer as their workers and the freight they need are carried by the railways. He recalls that the railways have been repeatedly criticized for not providing rolling stock to enterprises of these ministries. Kondratenko says: "I would say that everyone must pull his weight here. The problem of improving the work of railway transportation is, in my opinion, a national problem. We are working on a national task, and if we want to give the national economy a boost, we must solve this problem. It is inconceivable that in our country we cannot produce spikes and that we have to run around to somehow uncover them."

The video again shows Bakarinov in the studio. He says: "Commentaries are unnecessary, as they say. I, for one, have nothing to add. Let us wait and see what the ministries, which regard such a serious problem with such irresponsibility, have to say to the criticism of railway workers. It would be better if they would respond not with words, but with deeds."

Leaders Sign Artist Reshetnikov's Obituary

PM1912160988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Obituary of Fedor Pavlovich Reshetnikov]

[Excerpts] Soviet culture has suffered a heavy loss. One of the biggest masters of graphic art, USSR People's Artist, full member of the USSR of Arts Academy of Arts, and laureate of USSR State Prizes, Fedor Pavlovich Reshetnikov, has died.

F.P. Reshetnikov was born in 1906 in the village of Sursko-Litovskoye, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast. [passage omitted]

V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, V.A. Medvedev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.S. Kapto, V.G. Zakharov, A.A. Belyayev, D.S. Bisti, A.V. Vasnetsov, A.Ya. Degtyarev, L.Ye. Kerbel, V.A. Lenyashin, Yu.S. Melentyev, A.Ye. Pogosov, O.M. Savostyuk, V.T. Saykin, T.T. Salakhov, V.M. Sidorov, S.P. Tkachev, B.S. Ugarov, M.I. Shevelev.

Economic

Kamentsev Briefs Press on Foreign Economic Ties

LD2012122788 Moscow TASS in English 1213 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—Vladimir Kamentsev, a deputy head of the Soviet Government, held on Tuesday a press conference in the Soviet capital on the reform of Soviet foreign economic relations. He heads the state foreign economic commission of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Kamentsev noted that a new recent decision taken by the Soviet Government grants the right to enter the world market to all enterprises, organizations and cooperatives putting out competitive goods. The protection of state interests needs, naturally, establishment of a new system of accounting and control, a new list of export-import goods controlled by government organs and establishment of new customs tariffs. A provision is made that the USSR Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations can temporarily introduce licencing and establish quotas on some types of goods for countries and groups of countries.

A place of prominence in the decision is given to strengthening of economic methods of running foreign economic activities, simplification of the system of revaluating world prices into domestic ones and holding of foreign currency auctions in the USSR. According to Kamentsev, all this creates real prerequisites for greater covertibility of the rouble.

Touching on the establishment of joint ventures, Kamentsev said that the USSR registered 159 of them as of today. The new decision aimed at stimulating further joint ventures repeals regulation of partners' shares in authorized capital, permits the appointment of a foreign national to the post of top executive of a joint venture, simplifies questions of hire and dismissal of personnel and provides for more flexible taxation.

The new Soviet foreign economic strategy provides for broader participation of the country in the international division of labour, closer ties with such international economic organisations as the GATT, IMF and others. Special attention is given to studying a feasibility of establishing special economic zones, above all in the far eastern region of the country, pointed out Vladimir Kamentsev.

Gostev on Domestic Economy

LD2012150288 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—Giving finances a greater economic role is among the principal goals of economic changes currently under way in the Soviet Union, Finance Minister Boris Gostev said here today.

He was speaking to the heads of foreign diplomatic missions to Moscow at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press center.

Noting several recent decisions to revamp the banking system in this country as well as financing and crediting arrangements, Gostev said the aim is to achieve greater financial flexibility to allow smoother transition for Soviet enterprises to financial and economic accountability.

The economic restructuring has already yielded results, the minister said. Among these, he listed the fact that the economy has been steered away from the brink of a crisis and has picked up. Gostev estimated that the profits of factories this year will increase by eight to nine percent.

But the economy in the current five year period has been confronted with serious difficulties, including a significant decline in the world prices of oil and gas, which account for a large part of Soviet exports.

"We hope that the problem of the state budget deficit will for the most part be resolved during 1989, even considering the expenses called for to overcome the effects of the Armenian earthquake," Gostev went on.

He pointed to the Soviet troop reduction announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations, greater conservation efforts in the economy and increased efficiency due to new management methods among factors helping to make this possible.

Proposal for Odessa Economic Zone Discussed

PM1412141588 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 50, Dec 88 (Signed to Press 8 Dec 88) p 21

[Interview with Doctor of Geographical Sciences Professor V.A. Dergachev, associate of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute Odessa Branch, and B.P. Melnik, deputy chairman of the Odessa Oblispolkom and chairman of the Oblast Commission for Foreign Economic Ties, by EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA stringer R. Grad, carried under the rubric "Improvement of Foreign Economic Activity": "A Free Zone in Odessa?"—place, date not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] The Odessa Oblispolkom recently addressed to the USSR Council of Ministers a suggestion that a free economic zone be formed in the oblast's territory.

EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA stringer R. Grad spoke with Doctor of Geographical Sciences Professor V.A. Dergachev, associate of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute Odessa Branch, and B.P. Melnik, deputy chairman of the Odessa Oblispolkom and chairman of the Oblast Commission for Foreign Economic Ties, about the reasons which prompted this and the basis on which the calculations and estimates by scientists and specialists are made.

[Grad] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, as far as I know you were—even a few years ago—one of the first people in the country to advocate and scientifically substantiate the proposal to create free economic zones in the USSR.

[Dergachev] This idea was being aired, as it were. But people were extremely skeptical about it initially. And that was not surprising. The radical economic reform was only just beginning in the country at that time, and had so far had virtually no effect on foreign economic activity. This is why many people perceived the projects submitted by scientists as a very remote and generally unrealistic prospect. Now the situation is changing.

It is well known that work is now being done on the creation of special "joint enterprise zones" in the Far East and on the expansion of the role played by the region's local authorities in the management of foreign economic activity. In our view, the geography of such zones could be expanded.

It must be clearly explained: This is in no way a question of any concessions to partners from capitalist countries, but a matter of mutually advantageous and businesslike economic cooperation. Incidentally, free economic zones have been created and operate successfully in many countries, including industrially developed countries like the United States, France, and others.

[Grad] But why did Odessa in particular put itself up as a candidate? This is a question for you, Boris Pavlovich.

[Melnikov] First, ours is a maritime oblast. This facilitates international ties. It is no accident that the majority of existing free economic and foreign trade zones tend to be by the sea. Second, people in Odessa have quite good experience of partnership with foreign countries. Not to mention the traditional commodity exchange channeled through our Black Sea and Danube ports or the international ferry service between Ilichevsk and Varna. Direct ties are also developing between enterprises and organizations from Odessa Oblast and Bulgaria's Varna Oblast and Hungary's Csongrad Megye.

There are five joint enterprises and two plant-based foreign trade firms operating in Odessa today. All these are, in my view, weighty arguments in Odessa's favor. Perhaps we should not overlook also the fact that our oblast is rich in natural and climatic resources and imaginative, capable, and enterprising people.

[Grad] Now let us imagine that the oblast's suggestion is examined and approved by the government. How will events develop then?

[Answer, interviewee not specified] One of several options for the zone's site will be chosen, and the basic principles and conditions for its operations will be approved. They are being elaborated by scientists from the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute Odessa Branch jointly with scientists and specialists from institutes in Moscow and other cities in the country.

I will not dwell in detail on the pros and cons of every option. Let me say only that we are striving to apply a fundamentally new form of economic organization in the zone—on the basis of shaping an international port and industry complex. Moreover, it is planned to construct facilities not in the middle of nowhere but utilizing the base provided by the already existing Yuzhnyy, Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy, or Ust-Dunayskiy Ports, and thanks to this we will be able to save approximately 15-20 percent of the funds normally spent to build the infrastructure. This, incidentally, will be the substantial difference between the new zone and the zones that were created in, say, the PRC. Furthermore, we will try to orient the entrepreneurs who will "base" themselves in the zone primarily toward the satisfaction of the Soviet domestic market's demands.

[Grad] What meaning do you nevertheless attach to the idea of a free zone?

[Answer, interviewee not specified] In our view, the idea of a free zone means a territory enjoying full economic autonomy [samostoyatelnost] and a special legal status. It has its own customs and tax laws, its own organs of power and self-management. The main typical features of the zone are a rapid pace and dynamism in the development of the economy which, while preserving the principles of socialist economic management, will be enriched by the practice and experience accumulated by Western firms in the production, marketing, and sales of output.

The work of all enterprises and organizations operating in the zone's territory will be built on the principles of full economic autonomy, including elaboration of production programs, the quest for markets for their output, finding financial resources for the expansion of production, and so on. Customs barriers will reliably protect enterprises in the free economic zone from administrative diktat and bureaucratic arbitrariness by ministries, but will also deprive them of the departmental "life preserver" whereby the tab for some people's miscalculations has to be picked up by others.

[Grad] Therefore, free economic zones could become a kind of school for economic management and for working out the models and principles of radical reform and full economic accountability?

[Answer, interviewee not specified] Certainly. We are still arguing and pondering how, with the help of flexible taxation policy and preferential interest rates, the state could stimulate the fast development of some sectors and curtail, if necessary, the growth and unjustified profits of others. This will become a reality in the zone. It is obvious that, during the first 3-5 years, firms and banks investing capital in the development of construction industry enterprises will enjoy a most-favored status. At the second stage the zone will begin shaping its own production potential. Once again, not spontaneously but sensibly, in a targeted fashion.

Preference, and therefore the appropriate benefits, will be given to firms that will suggest the most effective projects for the construction and operation of food and processing industry enterprises and enterprises manufacturing consumer goods. We thus wish to kill two birds with one stone, as it were: To make fuller use of local raw materials and resources and to stock the stores with greater variety of high-quality products and articles in great demand.

The oblispolkom, as one of the founders of the free economic zone, suggests that projects for future enterprises and installations be selected only on the basis of open competitions. Moreover, the basic requirement of any production unit would be not only high profitability but also ecological cleanliness and waste-free production. As regards any profit that is earned, we think that a sizeable proportion will be channeled into the oblast's social needs—the building of housing, stores, schools, and polyclinics, the establishment of new roads and utilities. We also hope that our foreign partner firms will eagerly invest capital in the development of the maritime resort zone and the building of hotels, residential homes, and camping facilities. After all, the tourist industry is both promising and highly profitable work. In short, everyone will gain from the creation of a free economic zone—the state, the entrepreneurs, the labor collectives, and the residents of Odessa and the oblast.

Scientific

Reportage on Landing of Soyuz TM-6 Spacecraft

Cosmonauts Prepare Landing

LD2112015388 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 20 Dec 88

[text] Moscow December 20 TASS—The landing of Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov and their French colleague Jean-Loup Chretien is slated for 9:50 Moscow time, December 21, a TASS correspondent learned today at Mission Control Centre.

The undocking operation in which the Soyuz TM-6 spaceship with the three men on board will be detached from the orbital station Mir (peace) will start at 6:31 Moscow time.

The Soviet-French crew of Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Chretien was launched on November 26. The cosmonauts have successfully completed an extensive research programme.

They carried out an important experiment, Era, which involved a space walk by Volkov and Chretien. The two deployed a framework structure, a prototype element to be used in the future for building large-scale modules, labs and observatories in orbit.

They also conducted a series of medico-biological, technological and scientific experiments.

Titov and Manarov worked exactly 366 days in orbit as of 17:30 Moscow time, December 20. This is an all-time record. By the time they are to land, their total time in space is to amount to 366 days 16 hours and 20 minutes.

Titov and Manarov will be replaced on board the Mir station by Valeriy Polyakov and newcomers Volkov and Krikalev.

Ground Preparations Described

LD2012230788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] The Soyuz TM-6 spacecraft is returning to earth in the morning of 21 December. Just a minute ago we received a reportage by our special correspondent Leonid Lazarevich from the area of the prospective landing:

[Lazarevich] At this moment in orbit those who are returning and those who are staying to work are saying goodbye to one another, whereas here, in the landing area, everything is ready to meet them. Cross-country vehicles have set off toward the place where the descent vehicle is to land, about 100 km from the town of Arkalyk, and the helicopters that are to go up to see the descent vehicle have been waiting on the airfield. I will be in one of the helicopters and hope to be among the first to approach the descent vehicle and to have an interview. Arkalyk is where both Soviet and international crews have landed fairly often. Those crews have been met by doctors and the search and rescue team. And now (Viktor Dmitriyevich Chumpayev), one of the team's leaders, is here in our makeshift studio. (Viktor Dmitriyevich), do you have any doubts about the landing area? I have looked at your map—there seems to be a lake near there.

[Chumpayev] Yes, indeed, the landing region worries me a little because Lake Tengiz is on the flight path. Of course, the air search and rescue service personnel are aware of the extent of their responsibility for the timely search and evacuation of the international Soviet-French space crew. This responsibility increases because meteorologists have just reported that the weather situation at the time the spacecraft will be landing is expected to be complex. But we are prepared for this. The possibility of working in complex weather condition has been foreseen. If the conditions are simple, no doubt the cosmonauts will be evaucated by air, by helicopter. As for complex weather conditions, we have already said that search and evacuation vehicles have already set off toward the landing area; hopefully, they too will give timely help to our cosmonauts.

[Lazarevich] I know there have been very difficult weather conditions, for instance last year when we were meeting a crew—Romanenko was in space then. The situation was very difficult—wind, frost, and blizzard—yet, nevertheless, the helicopters landed and met the cosmonauts. I think that you are used to even the most difficult and complex weather conditions.

[Chumpayev] Well, of course, we will take a justifiable risk to a certain extent, but we will not take a serious risk if the weather conditions are outright bad—then ground transportation will be working. Otherwise, we are counting on air transport as the most efficient.

Computer Causes Landing Delay

LD2112075188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] And now news from space orbit. We go over to the Flight Control Center with our special correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev:

[Bezyayev] Currently the Soyuz TM-6 spacecraft and the Mir orbital complex are over Australia, whereas the Soyuz TM-6 craft with Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, and Jean-Loup Chretien already ought to be on the ground. When specialists were checking the operation on the on-board systems prior to activating the propulsion unit, they discovered that there were deviations [otkloneniya] in the descent program. That is why a decision was made not to take risks, to check everything; this descent is a very special one, because, after all, Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have spent 366 days in space and that is why specialists want them to have as soft a landing as possible.

That is indeed why the landing site has been transferred elsewhere and subsequently specialists set a new descent program and the illuminated display has just come on: the craft is carrying out the flight turned toward the sun and this means that it has turned its solar batteries toward it so as to charge them up for the landing. The descent will take place during the third orbit today—that is to say between 1200 and 1300 [0900-1000 GMT]. The cosmonauts feel well, the airtightness and the heat are normal. Well, at least Jean-Loup Chretien is very pleased with this delay, because he dreamt of staying in space a bit longer. As soon as we know the exact time of the landing, we will let you know.

TV Reports Situation

LD2112092188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0753 GMT 21 Dec 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast; report by correspondent Petr Orlov over video of control center]

[Text] The flight control center is again on the air. For the benefit of those who have not seen our previous bulletin let me recall that the landing of Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, and Jean-Loup Chretien was planned for 0948. Specialists noticed deviations in the operation of automatic equipment and the landing was rescheduled for later.

We have now received some information which is currently available to specialists, about what has taken place; and during the air-time given us I will endeavor to familiarize you with the situation. At present, at this very moment, a communications session with the Soyuz TM-6 spacecraft is in progress. We will be able to simultaneously listen to the ground-crew conversations. [indistinct communications chatter in the background throughout Orlov's report]

At present the crew operations training is underway, training for possible operations on the part of the crew. In order to understand the situation, let me explain.

Well, on the right-hand screen in the flight control center's main hall one can now see a diagram of the Soyuz TM-6 spacecraft. The descent module is in the very center. The equipment module is in the rear and the round module to the front is the living quarters. Usually by now the cosmonauts would already be in the descent vehicle with the equipment module, the equipment assembly module.

This time, however, it was decided to enter the atmosphere—I beg your pardon—this time it was decided to effect the descent together with the living quarters, because descent during the next period of 24 hours is one of the situations allowed for, a situation for which the cosmonauts are ready.

This is possible of course, as the experience of Vladimir Lyakhov and of the Afghan cosmonaut Mohmand shows; and it is better to be in orbit with the living quarters. Well, then, what did take place?

The automatic telemetry equipment showed that at a certain time the on-board computer complex became overloaded. Specialists at their desks are currently analyzing why it happened and the details of possible ways out of this situation. Incidentally, the living quarters I have already mentioned also have important equipment that must operate in conjunction with the on-board computer complex and it is possible—again, for the time being this is only conjecture—that it is precisely because of this that the on-board computer complex became overloaded.

The conversations are now underway; explanations are continuing about the possible methods of work. What are the variants? These, too, had been provided for. In general, it must be said that it is a situation that is allowed for; the cosmonauts are ready for this, there are relevant cyclograms for such work and now it is being practiced.

Let us bear in mind, all the same, that Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have been working in orbit for a year and even though they flew over the station, worked in the descent module, and manned the craft together with the ground, all the same, descent to earth is something completely special, one of the most tense operations in space.

Currently the flight control center is issuing commands in sequence to the crew. It is doing it with great precision, step by step in every communications session and making use of the craft which are now situated along the entire route of the flight. Musa Manarov and Vladimir Titov are recording them and making them more specific. It has to be said that I listened to one communications session: Musa Manarov knows the craft very well indeed and at one point he even corrected the flight control center. This is not to insult the specialists—it simply testifies to the caliber of the flight engineer.

The work is now underway. Well, as for the possible variants: If the machine again reports being overloaded when commands and data for the descent are fed in the crew will then operate in the so-called analog countervariant; that is to say, actually, as the cosmonauts have told me here, it is work very similar to manual control. Let us not say that it will be just manual control, for that is not the case: the digital on-board complex will, all the same, be in operation; but it is a different regime of work, differing from the usual one but, again, one that has been allowed for.

Well, this is what the situation here in the flight control center is like, and, the main thing, this is what it is like on board the Soyuz TM-6 craft to date.

The conversations are continuing. If everything goes normally, as the specialists have now calculated—although it is true to say that the calculations are continuing—then according to the data we received during the previous communications session the parachute system should be activated at 1243 and 41 seconds. Between 7 and 10 minutes later the craft—the descent module, already without the living quarters and, of course, without the equipment module, should be on the ground. This should take place, going by the current data, at approximately 1300. [video shows the long view and overview of the space control center and close-up of main display panel which shows the following data in tabulated form: "program of work for 21.12.88 Soyuz-TM-6; 11.08 descent program activation; 12.08.13 retro-engine activation: 12.12.43 engine activation; 12.21 living quarters separation; 12.33 descent module separates from the instrument assembly module; 12.36 descent module enters the earth's atmosphere; 12.44 parachute system activation; 12.59 landing"]

TASS Details Descent, Landing

LD2112124588 Moscow TASS in Engish 1321 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—The descent capsule of the soyuz TM-6 spaceship carrying three cosmonauts: Two Soviets and a Frenchman, landed 180 kilometers south east of the city of Dzhezkazgan in northern Kazakhstan on Wednesday more than three hours later than originally scheduled.

The delay, whose cause is being investigated by ground control specialists, was due to a flaw in the operation of the on-board computer.

The Soyuz TM-6 crew changed over to the backup program at 11:08 Moscow time and the spaceship's main engine was fired over the south Atlantic at 12:08 to slow the vehicle.

Some eight minutes after the engine shut down, the living module separated from the spaceship and the instrument module followed suit some time later at an altitude of about 140 kilometers.

The capsule continued its controlled descent with the use of aerodynamic lift. Radio contact with the crew was lost, as is usually the case, at an altitude of between 145 and 80 kilometers above earth because the vehicle was enveloped by a plasma cloud.

The aerodynamic braking force cut the capsule's speed down to 200 metres per second.

The cover of the parachute container was jettisoned at an altitude of some ten kilometres, releasing three parachutes, the biggest with a canopy of 1,000 square metres. The descent speed fell to between six and eight metres per second.

The cosmonauts then resumed contact with the helicopters of the search and recovery team to exchange altitude readings and prepare for touchdown in time.

The solid-fuel soft landing engines fired at an altitude of one metre. As the capsule hit the earth, the residual velocity was cancelled out by the cosmonauts' shock-absorbing seats.

According to reports from the landing site, the temperature there is a chilly 14 degrees below zero centigrade, the wind blows at six metres per second and the lowest edge of cloud cover is some 200 metres above the ground.

The chief of the search and recover team reported that cosmaonuts Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Jean-Loup Chretien are feeling well after landing.

'Mir' Cosmonauts' Work Detailed

LD2112114388 Moscow TASS in English 1132 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov and Frenchman Jean-Loup Chretien landed at 12:57 Moscow time on Wednesday after successfully completing their experiments on board the orbiting platform Mir (peace).

The descent capsule of the Soyuz TM-6 spaceship touched down 180 kilometers south east of the city of Dzhezkazgan. The cosmonauts are feeling well.

Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov are continuing their work in orbit.

Tito and Manarov were the first earthlings to spend one year in space.

During this time a wide-ranging program of astrophysics and geophysics studies, medical tests and technological and biotechnology experiments was carried out on board Mir.

Earth resource and environmental studies featured prominently in the cosmonauts' work.

They also observed and photographed parts of the earth's surface as well as oceans and seas, taking a total of more than 12,000 pictures. Besides this, the spacemen studied objects in our galaxy and beyond, X-ray and ultra-violet radiation sources, near-earth space and the terrestrial atmosphere.

A large number of medical tests were conducted, many of them under the supervision of physician Polyakov.

Continuous medical control over the crew's health as well as keep-fit exercises and other preventive measures made it possible to complete the longest space flight in history.

During their spacewalks Titov and Manarov performed difficult assembly jobs to restore one of the Kvant (Quantum) astrophysics module's telescopes to life and installed an experimental solar array.

A great deal of research was done under international projects. Work programs involving a Bulgarian and an Afghan cosmonaut were carried out completely on board Mir.

Five Soviet and one French cosmonauts worked together on board the platform for 23 days from November 28, 1988. Much time was taken up by medical tests.

Involving new methods and equipment, those included cardiological, psychophysiological and radiobiological studies and experiments to investigate metabolism in space.

Volkov and Chretien made a spacewalk to deploy a large-size structure and perform research and technology experiments.

The results of the flight are of a high scientific value and will benefit various areas of research and the Soviet economy as well as the cause of progress and well-being of all people on earth.

Military

Military Counterespionage Chief Interviewed

PM2012192188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General V.S. Sergeyev, member of the USSR KGB Collegium, by unnamed "our correspondent" under the rubric "Soviet Military Counterintelligence is 70 Years Old": "Secrets Must Be Protected"; date, place not given]

[Text] The USSR KGB military counterintelligence organs celebrate the 70th anniversary of their formation 19 December 1988. Our correspondent asked Lieutenant General Vasiliy Stepanovich Sergeyev, member of the USSR KGB Collegium, to answer a number of questions.

Correspondent. Vasiliy Stepanovich, the activity of military counterintelligence has always evoked interest among people. However, far from everyone knows when and why it was set up.

V.S. Sergeyev. From the first days of their existence the Armed Forces of the Soviet Republic became one of the chief targets of subversive activity on the part of foreign and internal enemies. For the purpose of defending the Armed Forces against such encroachments a special body—the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution on the Eastern Front—was set up in the Armed Forces by a resolution of the Council of People's Commissars dated 16 July 1918. Front-line and Army Extraordianry Commissions then began to be created on other fronts too. Military control bodies that had been created in the first half of 1918 under the auspices of the Republic's Revolutionary Military Council operated alongside them: They devoted themselves to combating foreign espionage. The experience of counterrevolutionary work accumulated by the fall of 1918 testified to the need to concentrate efforts on the subversive activity of foreign intelligence services and the internal counterrevolution in the Army and in the Navy. The Special Section of the republic was to become such a body; it later was known as the Special Section of the All-Russian Cheka and was headed by the professional revolutionary M.S. Kedrov.

Correspondent. The first-generation chekists were models of devotion to the revolution. But how did the workers of military counterintelligence operate in the years of the Great Patriotic War?

V.S. Sergeyev. The Army and Navy chekists from the first day of the war to the last day marched with the servicemen of the Red Army and the Navy along the roads of the front, fought at Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Odessa, Sevastopol... Not everything went smoothly, not everything came off, especially in the first days of the war. The adversary was very powerful. Judge for yourself: with the commencement of the military action, fascist Germany concentrated more than 130 reconnaissance, subversive, and counterintelligence bodies on the Soviet-German front and it set up over 60 schools for training agents.

Throughout the whole war the activity of the military counterintelligence was subordinated to the reliable counterintelligence backup for the Soviet command's offensive and defensive operations. The Army and Navy chekists bore the brunt of the struggle against the subversive actions of the German-fascist special services against the army in the field. During the war years, both independently and jointly with other subunits of the state security organs, they took out several thousand spies, saboteurs, and terrorists. For these feats the title of Hero of the Soviet Union was posthumously awarded to military counterintelligence officers P.A. Zhidkov, M.P. Krygin, G.M. Kravtsov, and V.M. Chebotarev.

Correspondent. The democratization of society and the desire for the truth has engendered a tremendous urge to look back at history and to make discussions on various of its periods—particularly the tragic events of the thirties—a reality.

V.S. Sergeyev. We must, of course, objectively grasp and analyze the facts and not succumb to short-term considerations. At that difficult time for the party and the country the military counterintelligence organs, like the state security organs as a whole, committed serious violations of socialist legality, and permitted unjustified repressions of Soviet military servicemen. This is unfortunately the case. But it would be wrong to believe that only innocent people were subjected to repressions. Among them were also those who actively fought against Soviet power and were in the service of the enemy. Another thing too is also well known—many military counterintelligence staffers tried to oppose the lawlessness and arbitrariness and thousands of them became victims of repressions, including the first leaders of military counterintelligence M.S. Kedrov, A.V. Eyduk, and others. Many reasons for the violations of socialist legality have been cited by the party which is now strenghtening the guarantees which rule out a repetition of such phenomena. As is known, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has set up a commission for the additional study of materials connected with the repressions that occurred in the thirties and forties and the beginning of the fifties. The results of its work will make it possible to introduce historical clarity to the tragic pages of the past.

Correspondent. Thanks to the CPSU's constructive foreign and domestic policy, the first steps are being taken in the world to reduce military confrontation and the process of the normalization of the international situation as a whole is under way. What can you say in this connection about the work of the military counterintelligence workers, have their concerns become fewer?

V.S. Sergeyev. In his day V.I. Lenin concluded that the state security organs would exist for a long time in the Soviet state mechanism, that the sphere of their activity would narrow as a new society was built, and that it would be restricted to political tasks. But there are no signs that the special services of the United States and its allies have been curtailing their intelligence and other subversive activity against the USSR and its Armed Forces. On the contrary, to implement their aims they have put all their existing potential into widespread operation: from agents to the most sophisticated technical intelligence facilities. The subversive centers are emphasizing the implementation of acts of ideological subversion and are trying to adapt, for the purpose, to the processes of the expansion of democracy and glasnost in our country and its Armed Forces.

Correspondent. I understand. Nonetheless in connection with the Soviet Union's declassification of a number of pieces of information of a military nature, the implementation of confidence building measures, and the provision of more extensive information about our Armed Forces for our partners in agreements, some Soviet people, including servicemen, may ask about the expediency of continuing to ensure a strict regime of safekeeping for secrets in the Army and Navy.

V.S. Sergeyev. We must be realistic in this matter of importance for the defense of the country and entire socialist community. The leading imperialist states are reliably defending their secrets and in today's situation are taking ever new steps in this direction. To judge by publications in the Western press the U.S. Administration has in the past 3 years implemented numerous measures to step up the regime of secrecy and security in the Defense Department and other state organs. In particular right of access to secret information is granted only to those U.S. citizens who have undergone background checks for reliability, including the use of a polygraph (widely known as the "lie detector"). The U.S. President has signed a law on introducing the death penalty in peace time for servicemen found guilty of espionage. A bill has also been elaborated on applying the death penalty to civilians found guilty of state treason.

In the opinion of the West German newspaper UNSERE ZEIT, the law adopted in the FRG "on the main avenues for safeguarding state security in the country" introduces a tough regime of secrecy in the state institutions system.

As we can see, there are no grounds for simplifying approaches toward ensuring the safekeeping of secrets in the Soviet Armed Forces. We too must reliably protect our secrets. This conclusion is graphically confirmed by chekist practice. In recent years the military counterintelligence together with the KGB's territorial organs has intercepted many subversive intelligence actions and exposed a number of agents of the imperialist intelligence services operating against the USSR Armed Forces. But as a whole the tasks of military counterintelligence may briefly be formulated thus: the prompt discovery and interception of the subversive intelligence activity of foreign intelligence services and the criminal actions of hostile elements to weaken the Soviet Armed Forces' combat might; the prevention of acts of ideological sabotage aimed against the Soviet Army and Navy personnel; the investigation of criminal cases involving state crimes which the USSR law assigns to the state security organs; and participation in the work of the command and political organs to increase the personnel's political activity.

Of course, in resolving the tasks facing military counterintelligence, consideration is constantly taken of the specific conditions of the domestic political and international situation and the features of the Armed Forces' life and activity.

Students Said To Be Resisting Military Demands

PM1512155188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Dec 88 First Edition p 2

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Major V. Kazakov "Topical Interview" with Colonel General A. Demidov, deputy commander in chief of the Ground Forces for combat training and chief of the Ground Forces Combat Training Main Administration: "Why Are Military Departments 'In a Fever'?"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Tomsk, Irkutsk, Riga, Leningrad, Moscow, Tashkent... Students from a number of VUZ's in these and other cities have declared a boycott of classes in military science departments. A broad "range" of demands is being put forward—ranging from the reorganization of the reserve officer training system to its complete abolition. How does the Ground Forces Combat Training Main Administration, which exercises jurisdiction over military science departments, regard the situation that has arisen and what conclusions are being drawn?

"We regard the students' dissatisfaction as a spontaneous protest against imperfections in the VUZ educational system," Colonel General A. Demidov, deputy commander in chief of the Ground Forces for combat training and chief of the Ground Forces Combat Training Main Administration, said. "A chain is only as strong as its weakest and least reliable link.... Admittedly military departments have in most cases been less exposed to restructuring influences. As for the students' demands, many of them are quite just and their complaints are well-founded. We are not only studying them and taking them into consideration but are also responding to them properly, and this is illustrated by the fact that all the conflict situations have been rapidly resolved at a number of VUZ's.

But I must stress something here: Some students voice extreme and even extremist demands that cannot be adopted in any shape or form. For instance the demand to eliminate military science departments completely and abandon reserve officer training altogether. Here they refer to "foreign experience."

In this connection, I think it appropriate to recall that the United States, Britain, and other developed countries devote great attention to questions linked with training reservists. For instance, more than 50 percent of U.S. reserve officers are trained in civilian VUZ military science departments. That is the reality that is being hushed up by the "rabble-rousers," and we must not close our eyes to it. As for the actual system of training reserve officers and preparing training plans and programs, there is indeed a great deal in it that is imperfect and does not accord with modern views and concepts of the higher school; naturally this requires radical changes.

[Kazakov] Can we conclude from what you have said, Aleksey Arsenyevich, that the Defense Ministry is ready to elaborate a new reserve officer training program in military science departments?

[Demidov] It is not only ready to do this but the elaboration of such a program has already been virtually completed. However, it is as yet premature to talk about it in detail since it must also be examined by other organs. I can only talk about the Defense Ministry's stance. We deem it necessary to grant the VUZ's themselves the right to decide how to construct the training and educational process in military science departments. Whether to organize weekly cycles of classes or choose the semester method, where the training program is assimilated during the summer months, or stick with the current form of 1 day per week.

We also deem it possible to reduce the time set aside in training programs to studying general military disciplines and a number of subjects designed to train a soldier and his actions as the member of a section or crew. As for women, they are to be employed on another program where certain general military disciplines are suitably replaced by military medical training. We deem it possible to give students the right to take examinations and tests early and subsequently relieve them of classes in the military science department.

[Kazakov] Judging by the letters arriving at the editorial office and by local press articles, many students are making serious complaints regarding military science department teachers and the procedures there. One gets the impression that there are few skilled and intelligent officers among the teachers and that "undue familiarity" and foul language flourish in relations with students... Students are enlisted to clear up premises and territories and wash floors. How far is this picture realistic?

[Demidov] First, let me express my opinion on press coverage of events. We are acquainted with most of the articles and cannot fail to notice the following tendency: Many authors don't bother even to attempt to investigate the crux of the matter and to grasp the reasons for what has happened or offer any constructive solutions. Some journalists, it would appear, are only concerned to "rake up" a few more juicy facts and, by presenting them in the appropriate fashion, convince readers of the bankruptcy of military science departments and even of the absurdity of their existence. Yet to talk seriously about this problem, it is not only necessary to refute absolutely everything, but also to make some rational proposal and examine some different options. But most articles contain nothing of the sort. They only contain one thing: a clear desire on the part of the authors to "play up" to some of the pacifist students, who are a long way from understanding the realities of contemporary defense construction.

Now a word about the state of affairs in military science departments. I must say bluntly that there are indeed still many shortcomings here. Above all with the selection of teachers. Certainly there are unworthy people among them and people who have not proved capable of their official duties in the troops. I do not exclude cases where arrogance, haughtiness, and coarse language have been manifest in relations with students. It has become practice in some departments to enlist students for various work that is unconnected with the training processes. What can be said to this? One thing perhaps: There must be no place for it.

But it is reasonable to ask the following question: Are military science departments isolated in the collectives of zonal VUZ's, and are they out of reach of rector's offices, party committees, and scientific councils? No, no. No one has ever given any directive instructions awarding them special status. If the moral and ethical atmosphere in a particular department is not quite sound, the reasons for this should be sought first at local level rather than trying to attribute them to Defense Ministry "machinations." An analysis of events shows that the departments that are "in a fever" are those where the VUZ leadership and party committees have proved incapable of resolving the problems of students' military training and, to be more specific, where these problems have been farmed out to the departments themselves.

Is interference from the center invariably necessary to curb, for instance, cases of rudeness on the part of instructors, to prevent students from being recruited to do economic work, and so on?

The situation in military science departments must be rectified—that is indisputable. It must be rectified jointly with VUZ leaders, party committees, and scientific councils. What is the Defense Ministry doing? A whole range of measures aimed at boosting the departments' prestige has been planned and implemented. We intend, for instance, to radically resolve the question of selecting career teachers. Mainly well-trained officers with good experience of work with troops will be sent to work in the departments.

[Kazakov] What about the establishment of a special form of dress for classes in military science departments and students maintaining a proper appearance... It turns out that these elements worry very many people.

[Demidov] No one has established a special form of dress that students should wear to classes, and if there are any demands on this score it is a question of "local initiative." It is the same with haircuts and beards. Leaders have suffered serious punishment for such "initiative."

[Kazakov] Now, Aleksey Arsenyevich, I would like to ask you a question that is being discussed most heatedly among students and about which a great deal is being written—the drafting of students during their training period for active military service. I do not have all-embracing data expressing public opinion, but I believe that I am not much mistaken if I say that most students are dissatisfied with the current situation, since interrupting studies adversely affects their training as specialists. The following seems the most acceptable of the alternatives that have been put forward on this score: drafting people for service after graduation from VUZ's. What could you say on that score?

[Demidov] First, drafting students for service has from the outset been regarded as a temporary and enforced measure predetermined by considerable demographic changes within the country. Second, you have to see the real changes within the country and within the Armed Forces as being generated by the restructuring that is under way. Including the changes in international relations. Soviet defense building, as is well known, is oriented primarily on qualitative parameters. The practical implementation of this party directive in the near future will make it possible—I am absolutely convinced of this—to maintain the requisite level of combat capability within the Armed Forces without enlisting students for military service.

The problems in the activity of military science departments are being studied in various regions of the country by competent commissions made up of senior workers from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Defense Ministry, and the USSR State Committee for Public Education. One of these commissions has already completed its work in Siberia and the Baltic. Naturally concrete decisions will be adopted on a state-wide scale on the results of the work of these commissions.